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AN
ESSAY
ON A COURSE OF
LIBERAL EDUCATION
FOR
CIVIL AND ACTIVE LIFE.

WITH PLANS OF LECTURES ON

- I. The Study of History and general Policy.
- II. The History of England.
- III. The Constitution and Laws of England.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

REMARKS

ON A
CODE OF EDUCATION,

Proposed by Dr. BROWN, in a late TREATISE, intituled,
THOUGHTS ON CIVIL LIBERTY, &c.

By JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL.D.
TUTOR in the LANGUAGES and BELLES LETTRES
in the ACADEMY at WARRINGTON.

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ESSAYS

ON A COURSE OF

LIBERAL EDUCATION

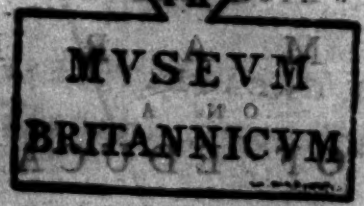
F. O. R.

CIVIL AND ACTIVE LIFE

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T O
JOHN LEES Esq.
P R E S I D E N T,
AND TO THE REST OF THE TRUSTEES
O F T H E
A C A D E M Y
A T
W A R R I N G T O N,

This E S S A Y is,
WITH THE GREATEST RESPECT AND
GRATITUDE, INSCRIBED,

BY THEIR MOST OBLIGED,

AND MOST OBEDIENT,

HUMBLE SERVANT,

JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.

JOHN LEES Esq.

PRESENTED

AND TO THE REST OF THE TRUSTEES

OF THE

ACADEMY

AT ACADEMY

WARINGTON

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WITH THE GREATEST RESPECT AND

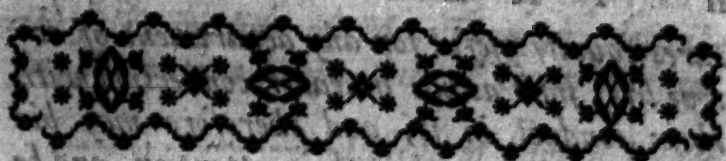
GRATITUDE

BY THEIR MOST OBLIGED

AND MOST OBEISANT

HUMBLE SERVANT

JOSEPH PRIESTLEY



THE P R E F A C E.

TO prevent the reader from being led into any mistake by the title of this performance, it will be proper to advertise him, that he is not to expect from it, the entire method of conducting the education of a young gentleman designed to fill any station in civil and active life, much less the methods which are peculiarly adapted to each department in it separately considered. I only mean to point out one capital defect in the usual method of educating young gentlemen, who are not designed for any of the learned professions, in places of public and liberal education; and at the same time, in some measure, to supply that defect by giving a delineation of a set of lectures

ii P R E F A C E.

tures equally useful for any department of active life; such as has a nearer connection with their conduct in it, and therefore may bid fairer, both to engage their attention, and be of real use to them, than any branch of learning to which they have hitherto been made to apply, after they have left the Grammar-school.

I hope the candid reader will not imagine that the following SYLLABUSES contain an account of all the articles which enter into the lectures. He will see, from the manner in which they are drawn up, that they contain only the principal heads of discourse, such as would more naturally engage the attention, in glancing over the lectures in a cursory manner; but, by the help of them, any person, acquainted with the subject, may easily conjecture the rest. Let it be considered also, that they contain the heads of the lectures only in their present imperfect state, capable of great additions and improvements, which the lecturer flatters himself they will receive in a greater, or less degree, every time he delivers them.

I also hope the reader will confine his attention to the principal object of this performance, and excuse both the errors of the press he may observe in it, and also other inaccuracies,

-----Quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura.-----

My

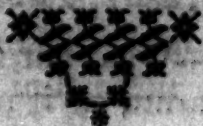
My general design is beautifully expressed in the following lines of Mr. Thomson, describing the future happy state of Great Britain.

----- Instead of barren Heads,
Barbarian Pedants, wrangling Sons of Pride,
And truth-perplexing metaphysic Wits,
MEN, PATRIOTS, CHIEFS, AND CITIZENS
are formed.

Liberty, part 5.

Imperfect as this performance may be, I shall think myself happy if I, in any measure, succeed in an attempt, which every friend to his country and mankind will think a laudable one.

With respect to the latter part of the work, viz. the REMARKS ON A CODE OF EDUCATION. I hope it will not be generally thought, that I have expressed myself too freely, or too warmly, on subjects so interesting as RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, and FREE INQUIRY. It was impossible either to avoid them, or to treat them with indifference. Religious liberty is the common cause of men, and free inquiry of scholars.



are formed.
MEN, PATRIOTS, OFFICERS, AND CITIZENS
And truly perplexing metaphysical W. W.
Barbours and Pindar, - struggling sons of Freedom,
- friends of better blood.

PAGE 11. l. 3. dele *of and*. — 25. l. 15. for *are*
written, read *write*. — 28. l. 17. for *those*, read *these*.
— 30. l. 11. read *than three*. — 32. l. 26. read *of so*. —
33. l. 11. for *the* read *their*. — 34. l. 10. dele *only*. —
48. l. 3. for *term* read *terms*. — Ib. l. 5. for *cus* read *cut*.
— 97. l. 18. for *a* read *as*. — 149. l. 18. for *natural* read
national. — 154. l. 9. for *as* read *a*. — 178. l. 29. read
the champions. — 181. l. 9. for *a* read *every*. — 200. l. 14.
for *religious* read *religious*.

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A N E S S A Y
ON A COURSE OF
LIBERAL EDUCATION
FOR CIVIL AND ACTIVE LIFE.

I T seems to be a defect in our present system of public education, that a proper course of studies is not provided for Gentlemen who are designed to fill the principal stations of active life, distinct from those which are adapted to the learned professions. We have hardly any medium between an education for the Counting-house, consisting of Writing, Arithmetic, and Merchants-Accounts, and a method of institution in the abstract
B sciences :

sciences: so that we have nothing liberal, that is worth the attention of gentlemen, whose views neither of these two opposite plans may suit.

FORMERLY, none but the clergy were thought to have any occasion for learning. It was natural, therefore, that the whole plan of education, from the Grammar-school, to the finishing at the university should be calculated for their use. If a few other persons, who were not designed for holy orders, offered themselves for education, it could not be expected that a course of studies should be provided for them only. And, indeed, as all those persons who superintended the business of education were of the clerical order, and had themselves been taught nothing but the Rhetoric, Logic, and School-Divinity which comprized the whole compass of human learning for several centuries; it could not be expected that they should entertain larger or more liberal views of education; and still less, that they should strike out a course of study, for the use of men who were universally thought to have no need of study; and, of whom, few were so sensible of their own wants as to desire any such advantage.

BESIDES

BESIDES, in those days, the great ends of human society seem to have been but little understood. Men of the greatest rank, fortune, and influence; and who took the lead in all affairs of state, had no idea of the great objects of wise and extensive policy; and therefore never apprehended that any fund of knowledge was requisite for the most eminent stations in the community. Few persons imagined what were the true sources of wealth, power, and happiness in a nation. Commerce was little understood, or even attended to; and so slight was the connection of the different nations of Europe, that general politics were very contracted. And thus, men's views being narrow, little previous furniture of mind was requisite to conduct them. A man who was capable of managing a private estate, in the poor manner in which estates were then managed, had understanding enough to conduct the affairs of a nation.

THE consequence of all this was, that the advances which were made to a more perfect and improved state of society were very slow; and the present happier state of things was brought about, rather by an accidental concurrence of circumstances, than by any efforts of human wisdom and foresight.

forefight. We see the hand of divine providence in those revolutions which have gradually given a happier turn to affairs, while men have been the passive and blind instruments of their own felicity.

BUT the situation of things at present is vastly different from what it was two or three centuries ago. The objects of human attention are prodigiously multiplied; the connections of states are extended; a reflection upon our present advantages, and the steps by which we have arrived to the degree of power and happiness we now enjoy, has shewn us the true sources of them; and so thoroughly awakened are all the states of Europe to a sense of their true interests, that we are convinced, the same supine inattention with which affairs were formerly conducted is no longer safe; and that, without superior degrees of wisdom and vigour in political measures, every thing we have hitherto gained will infallibly be lost, and be quickly transferred to our more intelligent and vigilant neighbours. In this critical posture of affairs, more lights and superior industry are requisite, both to ministers of state, and to all persons who have any influence in schemes of public and national advantage; and consequently a different and a better furniture

furniture of mind is requisite to be brought into the business of life.

THIS is certainly a call upon us to examine the state of education in this country, and to consider how those years are employed which men pass previous to their entering into the world: for upon this their future behaviour and success must, in a great measure, depend. A transition, which is not easy, can never be made with advantage; and therefore it is certainly our wisdom to contrive, that the studies of youth should tend to fit us for the business of manhood; and that the objects of our attention, and turn of thinking in younger life should not be too remote from the destined employment of our riper years. If this be not attended to, we must necessarily be mere novices upon our entering the great world, be almost unavoidably embarrassed in our conduct, and, after all the time and expence bestowed upon our education, be indebted to a series of blunders for the most useful knowledge we ever acquire.

IN what manner soever those gentlemen who are not of any learned profession, but who, in other capacities, have rendered the most important services to their country, came by that knowledge which made them capable of it, I appeal to themselves, whether

whether any considerable share of it was acquired till they had finished their studies at the University. So remote is the general course of study at places of the most liberal education among us from the business of civil life, that many gentlemen, who have had the most liberal education their country could afford, have looked upon the real advantage of such a liberal education as very problematical, and have either wholly dispensed with it in their own children; or, if they have sent their sons through the usual circle of the schools, it has been chiefly through the influence of custom and fashion, or with a view to their forming connections which may be useful to them in future life. This appears by the little sollicitude they show about their sons being grounded in those sciences, in which they themselves might possibly have been considerable proficient, when they applied to them, but which, from their being foreign to the business of life in which they were afterwards engaged, they have now wholly forgotten.

INDEED, the severe and proper discipline of a Grammar-school is become a common topic of ridicule; and few young gentlemen, except those who are designed for

for some of the learned professions, are made to submit to the rigours of it. And it is manifest, that when no foundation is laid in a grammatical knowledge of the learned languages (which, in a large or public school, cannot be done without very strict discipline, and a severe application on the part both of the master and scholar) youth can be but ill qualified to receive any advantage from an university education. Young gentlemen themselves so frequently hear the learning which is taught in schools and universities ridiculed, that they often make themselves easy with giving a very superficial attention to it; concluding from the turn of conversation in the company they generally fall into, and which they expect to keep, that a few years will confound all distinction of learned and unlearned, and make it impossible to be known whether a man had improved his time at the university or not.

THESE evils certainly call for redress; and let a person be reckoned a projector, a visionary, or whatever any body pleases, that man is a friend of his country who observes and endeavours to supply any defects in the methods of educating youth. A well meaning and a sensible man may be mistaken, but a good intention, especially if

if it be not wholly unaccompanied with good sense, ought to be exempted from censure. What has occurred to me upon this subject I shall, without any further apology, propose to my fellow-citizens, and fellow-tutors, hoping that it will meet with a candid reception. It is true, I can boast no long or extensive experience in the business of education, but I have not been a mere spectator in this scene; which, I hope, may exempt me from the ridicule and contempt which have almost ever fallen upon the schemes of those persons who have written only from their closets, and, without any experience, have rashly attempted to handle this subject, in which, of all others, experiments only ought to guide theory; upon which hardly any thing worth attending to can be advanced *a priori*; and where the greatest geniuses, for want of experience, have been the greatest visionaries; laying schemes the least capable of being reduced to practice, or the most absurd if they had been put in practice.

LET it be remembered, that the difficulty under present consideration is, how to fill up with advantage those years of a young gentleman's life which immediately precede his engaging in those higher spheres of
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of active life in which he is destined to move. Within the departments of active life, I suppose to be comprehended all those stations in which a man's conduct will considerably affect the liberty and the property of his countrymen, and the riches, the strength, and the security of his country; the first and most important ranks of which are filled by gentlemen of large property, who have themselves the greatest interest in the fate of their country, and who are within the influence of an honourable ambition to appear in the character of magistrates and legislators in the state, or of standing near the helm of affairs, and guiding the secret springs of government. The profession of Law, also, certainly comes within the above description of civil and active life, if a man hope to be any thing more than a practising attorney; the profession of Arms, too, if a gentleman have any expectation of arriving at the higher ranks of military preferment; and the business of Merchandise, if we look beyond the servile drudgery of the warehouse or counting-house. Divines and Physicians I consider to be interested in this subject, only as gentlemen and general scholars, or as persons who converse, and have influence with gentlemen engaged in active life,

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without any particular view to their respective professions.

THAT the parents and friends of young gentlemen destined to act in any of these important spheres, may not think a liberal education unnecessary to them, and that the young gentlemen themselves may enter with spirit into the enlarged views of their friends and tutors; I would humbly propose some new articles of academical instruction, such as have a nearer and more evident connection with the business of active life, and which may therefore bid fairer to engage the attention, and rouse the thinking powers of young gentlemen of an active genius. The subjects I would recommend are CIVIL HISTORY, and more especially, the important objects of CIVIL POLICY; such as the theory of laws, government, manufactures, commerce, naval force &c. with whatever may be demonstrated from history to have contributed to the flourishing state of nations, to rendering a people happy and populous at home, and formidable abroad; together with those articles of previous information without which it is impossible to understand the nature, connections and mutual influences of those great objects.

To

To give a clearer idea of the subjects I would propose to the study of youth at places of public of and and liberal education, I have subjoined plans of three distinct courses of lectures, which, I apprehend, may be subservient to this design, divided into such portions, as experience has taught me, may be conveniently discussed in familiar lectures of an hour each.

THE first course is on the STUDY OF HISTORY in general, and in its most extensive sense. It will be seen to consist of such articles as tend to enable a young gentleman to read history with understanding, and to reap the most valuable fruits of that engaging study. I shall not go over the particulars of the course in this place: let the Syllabus speak for itself. Let it only be observed, that my view was, not merely to make history intelligible to persons who may chuse to read it for their amusement; but, principally, to facilitate its subserviency to the highest uses to which it can be applied; to contribute to its forming the able statesman, and the intelligent and useful citizen. It is true, that this is comprizing a great deal more than the title of the course will suggest. But under the head of *objects of attention to a reader of history*, it was found convenient to discuss the principal of those

those subjects which every gentleman of a liberal education is expected to understand, though they do not generally fall under any division of the sciences in a course of academical education : and yet, without a competent knowledge of these subjects, no person can be qualified to serve his country except in the lowest capacities.

THIS course of lectures, it is also presumed, will be found to contain a comprehensive system of that kind of knowledge which is peculiarly requisite to gentlemen who intend to travel. For, since the great objects of attention to a reader of history, and to a gentleman upon his travels are evidently the same; it must be of equal service to them both, to have their importance and mutual influences pointed out to them.

It will likewise be evident to any person who inspects this syllabus, that the subject of COMMERCE has by no means been overlooked. And it is hoped, that when those gentlemen, who are intended to serve themselves and their country in the respectable character of merchants, have heard the great maxims of commerce discussed in a scientific and connected manner, as they deserve, they will not easily be influenced by notions adopted in a random and hasty manner, and from superficial views of things;

things; whereby they might, otherwise, be sometimes induced to enter into measures seemingly gainful at present, but in the end prejudicial to their country, and to themselves and posterity as members of it.

THE next course of lectures, the plan of which is briefly delineated, is upon the HISTORY OF ENGLAND, and is designed to be an exemplification of the manner of studying history recommended in the former course; in which the great uses of it are shown, and the actual progress of every important object of attention distinctly marked, from the earliest accounts of the island to the present time.

To make young gentlemen still more thoroughly acquainted with their own country, a third course of lectures (in connection with the two others) is subjoined; viz. on its PRESENT CONSTITUTION AND LAWS. But the particular uses of these two courses of lectures need not be pointed out here, as they are sufficiently explained in the introductory addresses prefixed to each of them.

THAT an acquaintance with the subjects of these lectures is calculated to form the statesman, the military commander, the lawyer, the merchant, and the accomplished country gentleman cannot be disputed.

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The principal objection, which may be made to this scheme, is the introduction of these subjects into academies, and submitting them to the examination of youth, of the age at which they are usually sent to such places of education. It will be said by some, that these subjects are too deep, and too intricate for their tender age and weak intellects; and that, after all, it can be no more than a smattering of these great branches of knowledge that can be communicated to youth.

To prevent being misunderstood, let it be observed, that I would not propose that this course of studies should be entered upon by a young gentleman till he be sixteen or seventeen years of age, or at least, and only in some particular cases, fifteen years; at which time of life, it is well known to all persons concerned in the education of youth, that their faculties have attained a considerable degree of ripeness, and that, by proper address, they are as capable of entering into any subject of speculation as ever they will be. What is there in any of the subjects mentioned above, which requires more accuteness or comprehension than algebra, geometry, logic, and metaphysics; to which students are generally made to apply about the same age.

AND

AND if it be only a smattering of political and commercial knowledge &c. which can be acquired in the method I propose, let it be observed, that it is nothing more than the rudiments of any science which can be taught in a place of education. The master of science is a character of which nothing more than the outline is ever drawn at an Academy, or the University; it is never finished but by assiduous and long continued application afterwards. And supposing that only the first rudiments, the grand, plain and leading maxims of policy, with respect to arts, arms, commerce &c. be communicated to a young gentleman, if they be such maxims as he is really destined to pursue in life, is it not better that he have some knowledge of them communicated early, and at a time when it is likely to make the deepest and most lasting impression, than to be thrown into the practice without any regular theory at all? It is freely acknowledged, that the man of business is not to be finished at an academy, any more than the man of science. This character is not the child of instruction and theory only; but, on the other hand, neither is it the mere offspring of practice without instruction. And, certainly, if a knowledge of these subjects be of any use, the earlier they

they are attended to (after a person be capable of attending to them to any purpose) and the more regular is the method in which they are taught, the greater chance there is for their being thoroughly understood.

WHEN subjects which have a connection are explained in a regular system, every article is placed where the most light is reflected upon it from the neighbouring subjects. The plainest things are discussed in the first place, and are made to serve as axioms, and as the foundation of those which are treated of afterwards. Without this regular method of studying the elements of any science, it seems impossible ever to gain a clear and comprehensive view of it. But after a regular institution, any particular part of a plan of instruction may be enlarged at any time, with ease, and without confusion. With how much more ease and distinctness would a person be able to deliver himself upon any subject of policy or commerce, who had had the whole subject, and every thing belonging to it explained to him in its proper connection, than another of the same abilities, who should only have dipped into the subject in a random manner, reading any treatise that might happen to fall in
his

his way, or adopting his maxims from the company he might accidentally keep, and, consequently, liable to be imposed upon by the interested views with which men very often both write and speak. For these are subjects, on which almost every writer or speaker is to be suspected, so much has party and interest to do with every thing relating to them.

SINCE, however, these subjects do enter into all sensible conversation, especially with gentlemen engaged in civil life, it is a circumstance extremely favourable to the study of them, that conversation will come greatly in aid of the lectures the young gentlemen hear upon them. It cannot fail to rouse their attention, and increase their application to their studies, when they hear the subjects of them discussed by their fathers, and the elder part of their friends and acquaintance, for whose understanding and turn of thinking they have conceived a great esteem. They will listen with greater attention to grave and judicious persons, and become much more fond of their company, when they are able to understand their conversation, and to enter occasionally into it; when they can say, that such a sentiment or fact was advanced in their lectures, and that one of their fel-

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low pupils, or themselves made such a remark upon it. It is no wonder that many young gentlemen give but little attention to their present studies, when they find that the subjects of them are never discussed in any sensible conversation to which they are ever admitted. If studying these subjects only serve to give the generality of young gentlemen a taste for conversing upon them, and qualify them to appear to tolerable advantage in such conversations, the variety of lights, in which they are viewed upon those occasions, cannot fail to make them more generally understood: and the better these subjects are understood by the bulk of the nation, the more probable it is that the nation will be benefited by such knowledge.

If I were asked what branches of knowledge a young gentleman should, in my judgment, be master of, before he can study this course with advantage; I would answer, that a knowledge of the learned languages is not absolutely necessary, but is very desirable; especially such an insight into Latin as may enable a person to read the easier classics, and supersede the use of a dictionary, with respect to those more difficult English words which are derived from the Latin. The student of this course should understand French very well, he should

should also be a pretty good accomptant, be acquainted with the more useful branches of practical Mathematics; and, if possible, have some knowledge of Algebra and Geometry, which ought to be indispensable in every plan of liberal education.

SOME will be ready to object to these studies, that a turn for speculation unfits men for business. I answer, that nothing is more true, if those speculations be foreign to their employment. It is readily acknowledged, that a turn for poetry and the Belles Lettres might hurt a tradesman, that the study of natural philosophy might interfere with the practice of the law, and metaphysics and the abstract sciences with the duty of a soldier. But it can never be said that a counsellor can be unfitted for his practice by a taste for the study of the law; or that a commander would be the worse soldier for studying books written on the art of war: nor can it be supposed that a merchant would do less business, or to worse purpose, for having acquired a fondness for such writers as Sir Josiah Child, Gee, Postlethwait, Tucker, &c. and for being qualified to read them with understanding and judgment.

IT must be allowed, that the mechanical parts of any employment will be best

performed by persons who have no knowledge or idea of any thing beyond the mere practice. When a man's faculties are wholly employed upon one single object, it is more probable that he will make himself completely master of it; and, having no further or higher views, he will more contentedly and chearfully give his whole time to his proper object. But no man, who can afford the expence of a liberal Education, enters upon any business with a view to spend his whole life in the mere mechanical part of it, and in performing a task imposed upon him. A man of spirit will laudably aspire to be a master in his turn; when he must be directed by his own lights, and when he will find himself miserably bewildered, if he have acquired no more knowledge than was sufficient for him while he followed the direction of others. Besides, in the case of merchandise, if one branch fail, there is no resource but in more extensive knowledge. A man who has been used to go only in one beaten track, and who has had no idea given him of any other, for fear of his being tempted to leave it, will be wholly at a loss when it happens that that track can be no longer used; while a person who has a general idea of the whole course of the country may be able to strike

strike out another, and perhaps a better road than the former.

I AM aware of a different kind of an objection, from another quarter, which it behoves me not to over-look. The advocates for the old plan of education, and who dislike innovations in the number or the distribution of the sciences in which lectures are given, may object to the admission of these studies, as in danger of attracting the attention of those students who are designed for the learned professions; and thereby interfering too much with that which has been found, by the experience of generations, to be the best for scholars, the proper subjects of which are sufficient to fill up all their time, without these supernumerary articles. I answer, that the subjects of these lectures are by no means necessary articles of a mere scholastic education; but that they are such as scholars ought to have some acquaintance with; and, that without some acquaintance with them, they must, upon many occasions, appear to great disadvantage, in the present state of knowledge.

Time was, when scholars might, with a good grace, disclaim all pretensions to any branch of knowledge but what was taught in the universities: perhaps, they would be

be the more revered by the vulgar on account of such ignorance, as an argument of their being more abstracted from the world. Few books were written but by critics and antiquaries, for the use of men like themselves. The literati of those days had comparatively little free intercourse but among themselves; the learned world and the common world being much more distinct from one another than they are now. Scholars by profession read, wrote, and conversed in no language but the Roman. They would have been ashamed to have expressed themselves in bad Latin, but not in the least on being guilty of any impropriety in the use of their mother tongue, which they considered as belonging only to the vulgar.

BUT those times of revived antiquity have had their use, and are now no more.

- + We are obliged to the learned labours of our forefathers for searching into all the remains of antiquity, and illustrating valuable ancient authors; but their maxims of life will not suit with the world as it is at present. The politeness of the times has brought the learned and the unlearned into more familiar intercourse than they had together before. They find themselves obliged to converse upon the same topics. The subjects

subjects of modern history, policy, arts, manufactures, commerce, &c. are the general topics of all sensible conversation. Every thing is said in our own tongue, little is even written in a foreign or dead language; and every British author is studious of writing with propriety and elegance in his native English. Criticism, which was formerly the great business of a scholar's life, is now become the amusement of a leisure hour, and this but to a few; so that a hundredth part of the time which was formerly given to criticism and antiquity is enough, in this modernized age, to gain a man the character of a profound scholar. The topics of sensible conversation are likewise the favourite subjects of all the capital writings of the present age, which are read with equal avidity by Gentlemen, Merchants, Lawyers, Physicians, and Divines.

Now when the course of reading, thinking, and conversation, even among scholars, is become so very different from what it was, is it not reasonable that the plan of scholastic education should, in some measure, vary with it? The necessity of the thing has already, in many instances, forced a change, and the same increasing necessity will either force a greater and more general change,

change, or we must not be surpris'd to find our schools, academies, and universities deserted, as wholly unfit to qualify men to appear with advantage in the present age.

In many private schools and academies, we find several things taught, which were never made the subjects of systematical instruction in former times; and in those of our universities in which it is the interest of the tutors to make their lectures of real use to their pupils, and where lectures are not mere matters of form; the professors find the necessity of delivering themselves in English. And the evident propriety of the thing must necessarily make this practice more general, notwithstanding the most superstitious regard to established customs.

BUT let the professors conduct themselves by what maxims they please, the students will, of course, be influenced by the taste of the company they keep in the world at large, to which young gentlemen in this age have an earlier admission than they had formerly. How can it be expected that the present set of students for Divinity should apply to the study of the dead languages with the assiduity of their fathers and grandfathers, when they find so many of the uses of those languages no longer

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er subsisting? What can they think it will avail them to make the purity of the Latin style their principal study, for several years of the most improveable part of their life, when they are sensible, they shall have little more occasion for it than other gentlemen, or than persons in common life, when they have left the university? And how can it be otherwise, but that their private reading and studies should sometimes be different from the course of their public instructions, when the favourite authors of the public, the merits of whom they hear discussed in every company, even by their tutors themselves, are written upon quite different subjects.

In such a state of things, the advantage of a regular systematical instruction in those subjects, which are treated of in books that in fact engage the attention of all the world, the learned least of all excepted, and which enter into all conversations, where it is worth a man's while to bear a part, or to make a figure, cannot be doubted. And I am of opinion, that these studies may be conducted in such a manner, as will interfere very little with a sufficiently close application to other studies. Students for Physic and Divinity may be admitted to these studies later than those for whose real use in life

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they are principally intended; not till they be sufficiently grounded in their Classics, have studied Logic, Oratory, and Criticism, or any thing else which may be deemed useful, previous those studies which are peculiar to their respective professions; and even then these new studies may be made a matter of amusement, rather than an article of business.

WITH respect to Divines, it ought moreover to be considered, that the same revolutions in the state of knowledge, which call their attention to these new studies have, in a great measure, furnished them with time for their application to them; by releasing them from several subjects the study of which was formerly the great business of Divines, and engrossed almost their whole time. And tho' new subjects have been started within the province of Divinity, it does not appear to me, that they require so much time and application as was usually given to those other studies, the use of which is now superseded. I mean, principally, School-divinity, and the Canon law; not to mention Logic and Metaphysics, which were formerly a more intricate business, and took up much more time than they do now.

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LET a person but look over the table of contents to the works of Thomas Aquinas, which were read, studied, or commented upon by all divines a few centuries ago, and he will be convinced, that it must have required both more acuteness to comprehend the subjects of them, and more time to study and digest them in any tolerable manner, than it would require to become exceedingly well versed in all the branches of knowledge I would now recommend.

THE Canon law was not less complex than both the common and statute law of England, and every clergyman of eminence was under a necessity of understanding, not only the general principles and theory of that system, but even the minutiae of the practice. Good sense, and a free access to the scriptures have at length (assisted, perhaps, by an aversion to abstract speculations) thrown down the whole fabric of School-divinity, and the rise of the Civil above the Ecclesiastical power in this realm has reduced the theory and practice of the English Canon law within very narrow bounds. And as to the little which remains in use, very few clergymen need trouble themselves about it.

It is acknowledged, that the attention of students for divinity, and other learned professions

professions is much engaged by mathematical and philosophical studies, which have been much cultivated of late years. I rejoice in so valuable an accession to human science, and would be far from shortening the time which is given to them in places of liberal education. I rather wish there were more room for those studies in such places, and better provision for teaching them. But, notwithstanding this, there is room enough for a small portion of time and attention to be given to the subjects I would here recommend; and it is not much of either that I would plead for, in the case of gentlemen intended for the learned professions.

THE method in which those lectures may be taught to the most advantage, I apprehend to be the following; and experience has in some measure formed my judgment in this case.

LET the lecturer have a pretty full text before him, digested with care, containing not only a method of discoursing upon the subjects, but all the principal arguments he adduces, and all the leading facts he makes use of to support his hypotheses. Let this text be the subject of a regular, but familiar discourse, not exceeding an hour at a time; with a class not exceeding twenty, or thirty.

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Let the lecturer give his pupils all encouragement to enter occasionally into the conversation, by proposing queries, or making any objections or remarks which may occur to them. Let all the students have an opportunity of perusing this text, if not of copying it, in the intervals between the lectures, and let near half of the time for lecturing be spent in receiving from the students a minute account of the particulars of the preceding lecture, and in explaining any difficulties they might have met with in it; in order that no subject be quitted, till the tutor be morally certain his pupils thoroughly understand it.

UPON every subject of importance, let the tutor make references to the principal authors who have treated of it; and if the subject be a controverted one, let him refer to books written on both sides of the question. Of these references, let the tutor occasionally require an account, and sometimes a written abstract. Lastly, let the tutor select a proper number of the most important questions which can arise from the subject of the lectures, and let them be proposed to the students as excercises, to be treated in the form of orations, theses, or dissertations, as he shall think fit. Moreover, if he judge it convenient, let him ap-
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point rewards to those young gentlemen who shall handle the subject in the most judicious manner.

YOUNG gentlemen designed for the learned professions need not be put upon these exercises, or reading all the authors referred to. It may be sufficient for them to attend the lectures as they are delivered. And as I would not advise, that the lectures be given with shorter intervals between them three days, they cannot interfere much with their application to their proper studies.

I think I could assign very satisfactory reasons for each of the directions I have laid down above, but I flatter myself they will suggest themselves; if not upon the bare perusal, at least upon any attempt to reduce them to practice. I shall only take notice of an objection which may be made to one particular article in this method.

SOME may object to the encouragement I would give the students to propose objections at the time of lecturing. This custom, they may say, will tend to interrupt the course of the lecture, and promote a spirit of impertinence and conceit in young persons. I answer, that every inconvenience of this kind may be obviated by the manner in which a tutor delivers himself

himself in lecturing. A proper mixture of dignity and freedom (which are so far from being incompatible, that they mutually set off one another) will prevent or repress all impertinent and unseasonable remarks, at the same time that it will encourage those which are modest and pertinent.

BUT suppose a lecturer should not be able immediately to give a satisfactory answer to an objection, which might be started by a sensible student. A tutor must be conscious of his having made very ridiculous pretensions, and having given himself improper airs, if it give him any pain to tell his class, that he will reconsider a subject; or even to acknowledge himself mistaken. It depends wholly upon a tutor's general disposition, and his usual manner of address, whether he lose, or gain ground in the esteem of his pupils by such a declaration. Every tutor ought to have considered the subjects on which he gives lectures with attention, but no man can be expected to be infallible. For my own part, I would not forego the pleasure and advantage which accrue, both to my pupils and to myself, from this method, together with the opportunity it gives me of improving my lectures, by means of the many useful hints which are often started in this familiar

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liar way of discoursing upon a subject, for any inconvenience I have yet found to attend it, or which I can imagine may possibly attend it.

I cannot help flattering myself, that were the studies I have here recommended generally introduced, into places of liberal education, the consequence might be happy and glorious for this country in some future period. Many of the political evils, under which this, and every country in the world labour, are not owing to any want of a love for our country, but to an ignorance of its real constitution and interests. Besides the very circumstance of giving that attention which I would recommend to its constitution, and interests would unavoidably beget a love and affection for them; and might, perhaps, contribute more to produce, propagate, and enflame a spirit of patriotism than any other circumstance. And certainly, if there be the most distant prospect of this valuable end being gained by an application to these studies, it cannot fail to recommend them to every true lover of his country, in age when the minds so many are blinded and misled by a spirit of faction; and, what is more alarming, when a taste for luxury and expence is so high, that there is reason to fear it may, in many cases

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cases be superior to all other regards, and when, in many breasts, it already apparently threatens the utter extinction of a spirit of patriotism.

WHAT was it that made the Greeks, the Romans in early ages, and other nations of antiquity such obstinate patriots, that they had even no idea of any obligation superior to a regard for their country, but that the constant wars they were obliged to maintain with the neighbouring nations kept the idea of their country perpetually in view, and always opposed to that of other nations? It is the same circumstance which gives our common soldiers and seamen more of the genuine spirit of patriotism than is felt by any other order of men in the community, notwithstanding they have the least interest in it. Now the course of instruction I would introduce would bring the idea of our country more early into the minds of British youth, and habituate them to a constant and close attention to it. And why should not the practice of thinking, reading, conversing, and writing about the interest of our country answer the same purpose with the moderns, as fighting for it did among the ancients.

AND it is a circumstance of particular consequence, that this enthusiastic love for

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our country would by this means be imbibed by persons of fortune, rank, and influence in whom it might be effectual to the most important purposes, who might have it in their power, not only to wish well to their country, but to render it the greatest real services. Such men would not only, as is the case with private soldiers or seamen, be able to employ the force of a single arm only in its defence, but might animate the hearts, and engage the hands of thousands in its cause. Of what unspeakable advantage might be one minister of state, one military commander, or even a single member of parliament, who thoroughly understood the interests of his country, and who postponed every other interest and consideration to it!

THIS is not teaching politics to low mechanics, and manufacturers, or encouraging the study of it among persons with whom it could be of no service to their country, and often a real detriment to themselves; though we may see in those persons, how possible it is for the public passions to swallow up all the private ones, when the objects of them are kept frequently in view, and are much dwelt upon in the mind. The same zeal which is the subject of ridicule in persons of no weight or

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or influence in the state, would be most glorious and happy for their country in a more advantageous situation.

SOME may perhaps object to these studies, as giving too much encouragement to that turn for politics, which they may think is already immoderate in the lower and middle ranks of men among us. But must not political knowledge be communicated to those to whom it might be of real use, because a fondness for the study might extend beyond its proper bounds, and be caught by some persons who had better remain ignorant of it. Besides, it ought to be considered, that how ridiculous so ever some may make themselves by pretensions to politics, a true friend of liberty will be cautious how he discourages a fondness for that kind of knowledge, which has ever been the favourite subject of writing and conversation in all free states. Only tyrants, and the friends of arbitrary power ever took umbrage at a turn for political knowledge, and political discourses among even the lowest of the people. Men will study, and converse about what they are interested in, especially if they have any influence; and though the ass in the fable was in no concern who was his master, since he could but carry his

usual load, and though the subjects of a despotic monarch need not trouble themselves about political disputes and intrigues, which never terminate in a change of measures, but only of men, yet, in a free country, where even private persons have much at stake, every man is nearly interested in the conduct of his superiors, and cannot be an unconcerned spectator of what is transacted by them. With respect to influence, the sentiments of the lowest vulgar in England are not wholly insignificant, and a wise minister will ever pay some attention to them.

It is our wisdom, therefore, to provide that all persons who have any influence in political measures be well instructed in the great and leading principles of wise policy. This is certainly an object of the greatest importance. Inconveniences ever attend a general application to any kind of knowledge, and no doubt will attend this. But they are inconveniences which a friend to liberty need be under no apprehensions about.

I MAY possibly promise myself too much, from the general introduction of the studies I have recommended in this essay, in the places of liberal education; but a little enthusiasm is always excusable in persons who

who propose and recommend useful innovations. I have endeavoured to represent the state of education in this view as clearly, and as fully as I have been able; and desire my proposals for emendations to have no more weight than the fairest representation will give them, in the minds of the cool and the unbiassed.

COURSE of LECTURES

STUDY of HISTORY



THE GENERAL DIVISION OF THE

SUBJECTS OF HISTORY

This course of lectures contains an account of

I. The general uses of history.

II. The sources of history, with the

principles on which past events may be

ascertained, and a particular illustration of

Newton's Chronology.

It is necessary or useful to be

known previous to the study of history;

including

SYLLABUS

who propose and recommend useful inno-
vations. I have endeavoured to represent
the various views of the subject, and to
show the merits and demerits of each.
no more weight than the fairest repre-
sentation will give them in the minds of the
cool and unprejudiced reader.

COURSE of LECTURES

ON THE

STUDY of HISTORY.

THE GENERAL DIVISION OF THE SUBJECT.

This course of lectures contains an ac-
count of,

- I. THE general uses of history.
- II. THE sources of history, with the principles on which past events may be ascertained, and a particular illustration of Newton's Chronology.
- III. WHAT is necessary or useful to be known previous to the study of history; including

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including a summary of Chronology, and rules for estimating the riches and power of several nations, from the sums of money mentioned in their histories.

IV. DIRECTIONS for facilitating the study of history; including an account of several ingenious mechanical contrivances for this purpose.

V. THE order in which the most useful histories may be read to the most advantage; including an account of all the capital ancient historians, and a more particular account of English historians, and English records.

VI. PROPER objects of attention to an historian; including the general principles of wise policy, and the theory of every thing which has contributed to the flourishing state of nations.

VII. THE last article in this course is A GENERAL VIEW OF HISTORY CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL, but for this, the author will at present make use of some of the compendiums of history recommended in the course of these lectures.

THE CONTENTS OF EACH PARTICULAR LECTURE.

LECTURE I. **W**HY History is so generally pleasing and interesting.

interesting. History serves to amuse the imagination and interest the passions. Advantage of history above fiction. It improves the understanding, and fits men for the business of life. Some advantages of history above experience. Peculiarly useful to princes. Facts essential to all knowledge. Political knowledge useful in every station of life. History frees the mind from many prejudices, and particularly national prejudices; but will confirm the attachment of a Briton to his country. The use of history to the ladies. All improvement in the science of government derived from history.

LECTURE II. HISTORY tends to strengthen the sentiments of virtue: shown from the manner in which virtuous impressions are actually made upon the mind. Advantage of the study of history previous to a person's being introduced into the world. Why the representations of historians are almost universally favourable to virtue. What kind of scenes history actually exhibits which are favourable to virtue. A view of the sentiments and conduct of great men inspires the mind with a taste for solid glory and true greatness. History enables us to form just ideas both of the strength and weakness of human nature. Instances of both, with reflections.

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LECTURE III. HISTORY tends to strengthen the sentiments of virtue by the variety of views in which it exhibits the conduct of Divine providence, showing important events brought about by inconsiderable means, or contrary to the intention of those persons who were the principal agents in them. A regard to Divine providence heightens our satisfaction in reading history, and tends to throw an agreeable light upon the most gloomy and disgusting parts of it. History, in the misfortunes and hardships to which the most distinguished personages have been reduced, gives a deep conviction of the instability of all human things, prepares our minds to submit to adversity with resignation, and makes us acquiesce in the more humble stations of life. Lastly, the most common observations on the tempers and manners of men, such as we may collect every day from common life, affect us much more strongly when we see them exemplified in the history of great personages. At what age history ought to be read. In what sense proper for every age.

LECTURE IV. OF the SOURCES of history. Importance of records. What have been the principal methods of transmitting to posterity the knowledge of events,

vents, with the advantages and imperfections of each. Oral tradition. Dependent and independent evidence. their values estimated algebraically. To estimate the value of single evidences. Historical examples. The corruption of tradition exemplified in ecclesiastical history, and the ancient history of Egypt. Difference between ancient and modern times with respect to the communication of intelligence.

LECTURE V. OF Historical Poems. Those of Homer and Ossian. Public monuments with traditional explications. Historical customs. Historical names of persons, countries and towns, &c. Monuments with emblematical, and alphabetical inscriptions.

LECTURE VI. OF COINS and MEDALS. Their origin and use in History. The principal information we receive from them. The progress of letters traced by their means. Addison's use of medals. Ancient and modern coins compared, with a view both to history and taste. Of the origin and use of Heraldry.

LECTURE VII. THE transition from public monuments to written histories. Records and archives of states. At what time chronology began to be attended to. Early methods of noting the intervals of time.

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time. At what time the history of this western part of the world begins to be credible. Ancient historians to be preferred who write of the events of their own times. Modern history best understood a considerable time after the events.

LECTURE VIII. OF THE INDIRECT METHODS OF COLLECTING THE KNOWLEDGE OF PAST EVENTS. The use of books not properly historical. The works of poets, and orators, and the remains of artists of all kinds. Difficulty of a writer's concealing his age and country from a sagacious reader. The fictions of Annius of Viterbo. The historical use of Cicero's letters. Several instances of Newton's sagacity in tracing events by means of connected circumstances. Use of language to an historian, in tracing the number or degree of revolutions in a state. How far any circumstances in the language of a country may be a guide in judging of the original genius and manners of the people. Exemplified in the Hebrew and Roman tongues. A curious observation of Mr. Hume's on the use of correlative terms in languages. Of simplicity or refinement in languages.

LECTURE IX. CONNECTION of history and law. The state of paternal and

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filial affection among the Romans, as seen by the tenor of the civil law. Customs and general maxims of the same use as laws. Use of laws in tracing the original genius and manner of life of a people. Change in laws corresponding with a change of manners exemplified in the feudal system in England. Simplicity or intricacy of law. Hale's inferences from a law of Canute's.

LECTURE X. THE use of observations on the intervals between the generations of men and successions of kings, to ascertain the dates of past events. The antiquity of these methods of noting intervals of time. Fallacious method of computing by them. Easy correction of that fallacy: by which Newton has amended the chronology of ancient kingdoms and nations. The interval between the return of the Heraclidæ and the battle of Thermopylæ determined by successions: the same interval ascertained by generations. The time of the Argonautic expedition determined by two different courses of generation. Extravagance of the Greek chronology. Improbable circumstances in the commonly received chronology of Rome. The time of the siege of Troy comes to be the same, computing by successions in Italy, and by successions and generations in Greece.
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And is agreeable to what Appian writes from the archives of Carthage.

LECTURE XI. THE time of past events ascertained by means of celestial appearances. The certainty of the method of computation by Eclipses. A few ancient eclipses enumerated. The use of them exemplified in the calculation of two ancient eclipses, one of the sun and another of the moon.

LECTURE XII. Of the use which Newton has made of observations on the precession of the equinoxes in rectifying ancient chronology. The time of the Argonautic expedition determined by that means. The time of several subsequent events determined by the same means, in perfect consistence with one another. A conjecture concerning the age of an old sphere in the museum of the Farnesian palace. The age of Hesiod determined pretty nearly from his account of the heliacal rising and setting of some stars. The use of the books of the Old Testament for rectifying the heathen chronology. The use it was of to Newton in particular.

LECTURE XIII. WHAT IS NECESSARY OR USEFUL TO BE KNOWN PREVIOUS TO A STUDY OF HISTORY. Use of the sciences derived from history to a student

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dent of history. The knowledge of human nature. Philosophical knowledge in general. Geography. Chronology. Division of the day. The method of reckoning by weeks.

LECTURE XIV. MONTHS, lunar and solar. Intercalation. Cycles. Old and new style. The solar cycle. Cycle of Indiction. Julian period, difference in beginning the year. *Æra's* or *Epoche's*. The *Æra* of Nabonassar. Of the Seleucidæ. Of the birth of Christ. Of the Hegira. Used formerly in Spain. Of the battle of Actium. Of Dioclesian. Yedejerd. Cautions in comparing them with one another.

LECTURE XV. Of the methods of estimating the riches and power of ancient and remote nations. Sources of mistake on this subject. Change in the standard of Coin. Upon what the price of commodities depends. Of the state of Indostan. The proper data to ascertain the proportion of money to commodities. Of the changes which the Grecian coins underwent. Of the proportion between silver, gold, and brass in ancient times. Of the changes in the Roman coins. Of the proportion of money to commodities in different periods of the Grecian and Roman history

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tory. Of the interest of money in Greece and at Rome.

LECTURE XVI. Of the English coins. Saxon and Norman coins compared. When gold and copper began to be coined by our kings. A table of all the changes in the value of English coins. Proportion between gold and silver in different periods of our history. Proportion between coin and commodities in different periods of our history. A table of all the changes of the French coin from the time of Charlemagne. A general idea of the proportion it has, at different times, borne to commodities in France. Of the different rates of interest in Europe in different periods. The number and riches of a people to be considered in computing the proportional quantities of the money they raise.

LECTURE XVII. DIRECTIONS FOR FACILITATING THE STUDY OF HISTORY. Use of compendiums. The best epitomes of history. Mechanical methods which have been used to facilitate the study of history. Chronological tables. Character of different tables. Sturt's tables. Genealogical tables.

LECTURE XVIII. CHART of history. Chart of Biography. Grey's Memo-
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ria Technica. The method of a common place-book for the purpose of history.

LECTURE XIX. The term of FORTIFICATION explained, by the help of a model of all its varieties cut in wood; to enable young gentlemen to understand modern history, and the news-papers, and to judge of the progress of a siege.

LECTURE XX. A regular progress in history pleasing. The order in which ancient general histories may most conveniently be read, so as to make them one continued series of history; together with the character of the historians as they are mentioned, and an account of those passages in other authors which may serve to enlarge the history of the several periods of which they treat. Of Herodotus.

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LECTURE XXII. DIONYSIUS Halicarnassensis. Livy. Polybius. Appian.

LECTURE XXIII. SALLUST. Caesar. Hirtius. Dio Cassius. Paterculus. Suetonius. Tacitus.

LECTURE XXIV. AURELIUS Victor. Herodian. Scriptores Romani. Eutropius. Zozimus. Zonaras. Jordanes.

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nandes. Ammianus Marcellinus. Procopius. Agathias. Nicetas Acominatus. Nicephorus Gregoras. Johannes Cantacuzenus. Use of books of antiquities. Writers who have explained coins and inscriptions. Use of a knowledge of the civil law. Of modern compilations of history. The universal history. Hooke's Roman history.

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LECTURE XXVI. The English history from the conquest. Ingulfus of Croiland. Marianus Scotus. Florentius Bravonius. Eadmerus. William of Malmesbury. Simeon of Durham. Ealred. Henry of Huntingdon. William of Newbery.

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LECTURE XXVII. ROBERT Fabian. Polidore Virgil. Edward Hall. Hollingshead. Stow. Speed. Baker. Clarendon, Whitlocke, and Ludlow. Burnet. Rapin. Hume. Robertson. Parliamentary history. Grey's Debates. Use of private letters, memorials, and other remains of men in public characters.

LECTURE XXVIII. HISTORIES of particular lives and reigns. Of William the Conqueror by William of Poitiers. Of Edward the II. by Thomas de la More. Of Henry V. by Titus Livius. Of Edward IV. by Haddington. Of Edward V. by Sir Thomas Moore. Of Henry VII. by Sir Francis Bacon. Of Henry VIII. by Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Edward VIth's own diary. Of Elizabeth by Camden. Lives written by Harris and others.

LECTURE XXIX. LIGHT thrown upon the civil history of England by the ecclesiastical

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ecclesiastical writers. Odericus Vitalis, &c. Burnet's history of the reformation. Cranmer's Memorials published by Strype. An acquaintance with the old English Law-books useful to an English historian. Customier de Normandy, Glanville. Bracton. Fleta. Hengham. Horn's Mirroir de Justice. Breton. Novæ Narrationes. Fortescue de Laudibus legum Angliæ. Statham's Abridgement of Reports. Littleton and Coke. Doctor and Student. Fitzherbert de Natura Brevium. Year books, Reports, &c. Wood's Institute.

LECEURE XXX. OF the ENGLISH RECORDS. Royal Proclamations. Dispatches and instructions for foreign ministers. Leagues, Treaties, and Memorials, &c. where to be found. Records of the old court of Chivalry. Agard's collections. Cotton's library. Records of foreign states. Rymer's Fœdera. The green cloth. Acts of Parliament. Rastak's Collections. Prynne's abridgement and others. Journals of both houses. Summons of the nobility in Dugdale. Records in the courts of Westminster. Disposition of the records in the Tower.

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LECTURE XXXII. HISTORIANS of other Nations. Where accounts of them are to be looked for. What sufficient for an Englishman. Henault's history of France. Use of the Universal history. Thuanus. Guiciardin. Davila. Voltaire.

LECTURE XXXIII. THE MOST IMPORTANT OBJECTS OF ATTENTION TO
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A READER OF HISTORY. Different objects to different persons. An acquaintance with the history of our own country useful to persons in all ranks of life. Peculiar use of Biography. Biographia Britannica, and other Biographical writings. We ought particularly to attend to the connection of cause and effect in all the changes of human affairs. What prejudices to be more particularly guarded against. Ascribing too much, or too little to general, or particular causes; too many, or too few causes. Inconveniences of both.

LECTURE XXXIV. GENERAL observations on political measures. When personal considerations may be supposed to influence public measures and when not. Difference between the true, and the declared motives to transactions, wars &c. All just reasoning on the connection of cause and effect capable of being reduced to practice. Periods of history more particularly worthy of attention. The connection of Sacred and Prophane History. The succession of the four monarchies. History of the Grecian commonwealths, why interesting, and what to be learned from it.

LECTURE XXXV. The rise and declension of the Roman empire. What instruction

instruction it affords. The Settlement of the Northern nations in the dismembered provinces of the Roman empire, with their original laws and customs, as the foundation of the present European governments. What circumstances contributed to render the history of Europe from the close of the 15th century vastly more interesting, and more deserving of attention than before. The time when the history of Spain begins to be interesting to the rest of Europe. The same with respect to France. The northern crowns. Russia, Prussia. Into what parts the whole period from the close of the 15th Century to the present times may be divided. What are the most striking objects of attention in other parts of the world, in the interval between the irruption of the Northern barbarians and the close of the 15th century. The history of Asia. And of Germany.

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LECTURE XXXVIII. Reasons for the prevalence of Despotism in early times. Advantages of monarchy. Disadvantages of it. What circumstances make the situation of a people most happy in despotic states. What circumstances always more or less controul despotism. Attachment of some nations to despotism.

LECTURE XXXIX. Advantages of Democracy. Connection of liberty and science. Situation of republics with respect to defence. Severity of manners in republics. Severe punishments dangerous. The true supports of republican government. Danger of luxury. Equality of fortunes. Exorbitant power in magistrates dangerous. Number of voters.

LECTURE XL. Aristocracy how different from despotism. What depends upon the number of its members. Libels peculiarly obnoxious in this government. In what respects the present European monarchies differ from the ancient monarchies. Their rise. Peculiar advantage of them. Nobility. These governments promise

promise to be lasting. Different situation of the female sex in these governments and those which are despotic. The nature of the Roman government. The happiness of having the order of succession in monarchies fixed. What form of government is most proper for extensive empire. How the extremes of liberty and despotism approach. Of the distribution of different powers in a state. What preserved the Roman republic so long.

LECTURE XLI. How much government under any of these forms is preferable to a state of barbarism. Refinement in men's ideas keeping pace with improvements in government. The European governments, (and particularly the English) traced from their first rise in the woods of Germany to their present form. The constitution of the ancient German states. State of their armies. Division of the conquered lands. Upon what terms held. How feuds became hereditary. How the Clergy became an essential part of the state. Upon what terms the great Lords disposed of their lands. Taxes of the feudal times. Power of a Lord over his vassals. Why allodial estates became converted into feudal. When this took place in England.

The

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The method of administering justice. Where the supreme power was lodged.

LECTURE XLII. IN what circumstances the Feudal system acquired strength. The violence and insecurity of those times. Inconsistent with commerce. Ballance of power in those times. Wager of battle. Private confederacies. Knight-Errantry. Causes of the decline of the Feudal system. Expensive wars. Progress in the arts. Improvements in the art of war.

LECTURE XLIII. RISE of Corporations. Greater and lesser Barons. State of land property and the alienation of it. When, and by what means the great blow was given to the Feudal system by the diminution of the power of the greater barons in different parts of Europe. The rise of the English Commons. The Declension of the system not equal in all parts of Europe. Not the same in Scotland as in England. The reasons of it. The remains of it at present in different parts of Europe, and with us. General observations on the progress and termination of the Feudal system.

LECTURE XLIV. THE EXPENCES OF GOVERNMENT. How moderate taxes operate. Exorbitant taxes. Taxes upon possessions or consumptions. Their different

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ent advantages and disadvantages. A Poll-tax, in what circumstances most tolerable. By whom a tax upon consumptions should be paid. Taxes upon exports. Farmers of taxes. National debts.

LECTURE XLV. OF LAWS. Simple or complex systems of law. Lenity or severity of laws. Sanctions of laws. Connection of laws. Who should be prosecutors. Who judges. Object of laws. Inquisition. Certainty of laws. Maxims and forms of law. Laws defeating their own end.

LECTURE XLVI. THE theory of the progress of law, exemplified in the history of the criminal law. And in the progress of men's ideas and of laws concerning property. History of laws. Profession of law. Force of custom.

LECTURE XLVII. THE influence of RELIGION on civil society. In what circumstances it has the greatest force. The use of it in states. Advantages resulting from Christianity in Europe. Abuses of religion. Toleration and persecution. In what circumstances most violent. The connection of modes of religion with forms of government. The encroachment of the ecclesiastical upon the civil power. How prevented. What makes

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makes men more attached to one religion than to another.

LECTURE XLVIII. The influence of PHILOSOPHY on civil affairs. The influence of the different sects of the Greek philosophy upon statesmen and their measures in ancient history. Necessity of an attention to AGRICULTURE. How best encouraged. Bounties. Public granaries. Mutual influences of agriculture and commerce. Circumstances attending the improvement of agriculture. Imperfect state of it in England a few centuries ago.

LECTURE XLIX. In what manner ARTS AND MANUFACTURES increase the power of a state. Importance of encouraging labour. Vast advantage of manufactures, particularly to England. The society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures and commerce. The connection between Science and the Arts. On what circumstances a taste for science depends. The consequences of interruptions in science. The usual decline of the arts after they have been brought pretty near perfection. Why science is not so apt to decline.

LECTURE I. The advantage of COMMERCE to a state. Its effects upon the minds of men. Active and passive commerce.

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commerce. What is the most advantageous kind of commerce. Of Fisheries. The Importation of unwrought materials. The gain of the merchants and of the country compared. Balance of trade. Influence of commerce on the value of land. And vice versa. Interfering of the legislature in commerce. The Navigation act. Restrictions upon commerce. Companies. Alienation of land. Loss of commerce by persecution.

LECTURE LI. Use of Colonies to a commercial state. Difference between ancient and modern colonies. Importance of our American colonies. The entire subserviency of a colony to the mother country. The situation of Ireland. Unreasonable jealousy of it. The Isle of Man. Uniformity of weights and measures. Maxims with respect to money. Of the nature of exchange. In what cases a great quantity of money is useful or hurtful to a state, and how the increase of it operates to produce an improved state of society.

LECTURE LII. Of the interest of money: How its rise or fall is influenced by the state of commerce. Of Paper-money. Paper-credit. State of the North American colonies in this respect. The fluctuating nature of commerce exemplified

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ed as a motive to attend to and improve our commerce. Benefits which have arisen from unsuccessful attempts to extend commerce.

LECTURE LIH. THE consequences of a flourishing state of society deduced. What kinds of luxury are hurtful. How far the country in which luxury prevails is hereby rendered incapable of self-defence or the contrary. The temper of mind in luxurious and barbarous ages compared. The mischiefs of idleness. The state of virtue in the earlier and later periods of most histories. Effects of large capital cities. The dreadful consequence of a total depravity of manners. Gaming. Education.

LECTURE LIV. THE Importance of an attention to lesser things than those discoursed of above. Influence of POLITENESS in a state. Manners of the ancients. What form of government is most favourable to politeness, state of diversions among the Greeks and Romans. The influence of the practice of domestic slavery on the minds of the ancients. Manners of the Feudal times. The rise and progress of politeness in Europe. The consequence of a free intercourse between the sexes. The reason of the high distinction with which the female sex is treated in Europe. How far the

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the laws which regulate the treatment of women depend upon the climate of countries. Treatment of women in the East, among the Greeks, Romans, and barbarous nations.

LECTURE LV. OF the FOOD, the DRESS, and the HABITATIONS of the human species. The importance of attending to their gradual improvement. The great superiority of the moderns to the ancients in a variety of respects mentioned.

OF the POPULOUSNESS of nations. The influence of good laws and government. Easy naturalization. What use of land will enable the people to subsist in the greatest numbers upon it. Circumstances by which to judge of the populousness of ancient nations. How trade and commerce make a nation populous. Equal division of lands. When machines to facilitate labour are useful, and when hurtful.

LECTURE LVI. GRAZING formerly destructive to populousness in England. Inclosures when hurtful, and when useful. Necessity of industry. Of frugality. A taste for expensive living how hurtful to Rome in the Augustan age, and to us at present. Reason of the populousness of China. Monogamy. Polygamy. The consequence of a sudden diminution of the numbers of the female sex in Europe. How far the

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a people. Of monasteries and nunneries. Influence of religion on the populousness of a country. The Populousness of ancient and modern nations compared. Methods of easily computing the numbers of people in a country.

LECTURE LVII. WHAT makes a nation secure. Natural ramparts. Advantage of an island. Importance of weapons. The alteration which the invention of gunpowder has made in the art of war. Reason why the first effects of it were not more sensible in Europe. Difference in the methods of fortification, and fighting at sea of the ancients and moderns. The importance of discipline. Inconvenience of the feudal militia. What makes modern wars so extremely expensive. The rise of standing armies in Europe. Why a nation is formidable after a civil war. The great military power of ancient nations accounted for. In what sense populousness contributes to make a nation strong and secure.

LECTURE LVIII. Of confederacies. The balance of power in ancient and modern times. The conduct of different nations in extending and securing their conquests. The Roman policy in war particularly noticed. The necessity of personal courage.

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courage. Influence of liberty. The reason of some instances of desperate valour in ancient times. The difference between the proportion of officers and their pay in ancient and modern times explained. The danger of employing mercenaries. Of buying off wars.

LECTURE LIX. A capacity of bearing the fatigues of war: more requisite in the ancient manner of fighting. The advantage of poor nations over the rich. Why invaders have generally more courage than the invaded. The influence of opinion upon courage. The influence of religious sentiments. Effects of violent personal hatred. Civil wars peculiarly bloody. Causes of Factions, duration of them, easily propagated in free governments. Dreadful effects of faction. The unfortunate situation of the Greek empire. Observations on the different durations of empires.

LECTURE LX. THE historian directed to attend to whatever contributes to the improvement of USEFUL SCIENCE. Changes in the face of the earth. The Abbe de Bos's observation on the air of Italy. Changes with respect to the fertility of several countries, to what they are owing. Rivers which have changed their course.

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Whatever tends to make us better acquainted with HUMAN NATURE to be particularly attended to. In what respect history may assist us to correct the errors of a theory drawn from experience. OF NATIONAL CHARACTERS, whether depending upon climate, or other causes. VARIETIES AMONG MANKIND, in their moral sentiments, in the make of the human body, the different diseases to which men have been subject. The different vices which have prevailed in different ages. An attention to LANGUAGE recommended.

LECTURE LXI. AN attention to DIVINE PROVIDENCE IN THE CONDUCT OF HUMAN AFFAIRS recommended. The use of these observations in demonstrating the divine attributes. Comparison of this proof with that from the works of nature. These researches cleared from the charge of presumption. Great caution recommended. Methods and maxims of proceeding in these enquiries. Evidence of the state of the world having been improved, and marks of its being in a progress towards further improvement: considered here only with respect to PERSONAL SECURITY and PERSONAL LIBERTY. The state of personal security in Greece, Rome, and the feudal times of Europe, compared with the

the state of things at present. Number of slaves in ancient times, and during the prevalence of the feudal system.

LECTURE LXII. THE gradual advancement of RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE to be attended to, particularly in the propagation of CHRISTIANITY, and the circumstances attending the Reformation. Objection to the goodness of God from the state of WAR mankind have generally been in. War has always borne a less proportion to peace than we are apt to imagine. Reflections upon the slain in battle. How far the calamities of war extend. The benefit accruing to mankind from their disposition to hostility. Mankind would have been in a worse situation without it, and the wars which have sprung from it, argued from general principles. The particular use of war shown in several cases. Religion, liberty, and the sciences have often been promoted by war.

LECTURE LXIII. BENEFICIAL effects of CONQUESTS. Made with the most ease where they are the most wanted. Benefits accruing to barbarous nations from conquering civilized ones, or from being conquered by them. The world a gainer by the Roman conquests, exemplified in several countries. Examples of men doing more good by their death than by their lives,

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lives. Advantages resulting from the feudal wars, from the abuses of Popery. Moral maxims of conduct deduced from our observations of the Divine Being producing good by means of evil.



TOGETHER with the study of history, I would advise, that more attention be given to GEOGRAPHY than I believe is generally given to it; particularly to that branch of it which may with propriety, be called COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY exhibiting the state of the world with respect to commerce, pointing out the most advantageous situations for carrying it on; and more especially, noting those articles, in the natural history of countries which are, or may be, the proper subjects of commerce.

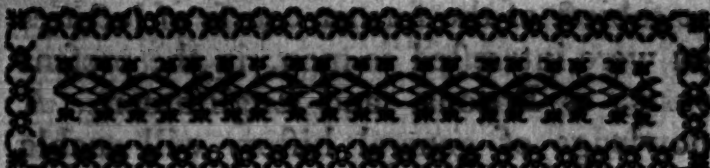
THIS branch of knowledge is, indeed, as yet very much confined. We are probably strangers to some of the most useful productions of the earth on which we live: but a general attention once excited to the subject, by teaching it to youth in all places of liberal education, would be the best provision for extending it. Then, gentlemen, in their voyages and travels, would have their attention more strongly engaged to every thing that ap-

68 COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY.

peared new or curious. Also merchants, and captains of ships, would not neglect to bring home specimens of a variety of articles, besides those which were the principal object of their voyage.

A KNOWLEDGE of CHEMISTRY is absolutely necessary to the extension of this useful branch of science. And it is a pleasing prospect to those who wish well to the flourishing state of commerce, that chemistry has, of late years, been more generally attended to than ever, and that it is daily introduced into more places of liberal education. What losers men may be for want of commercial Geography, and of Chemistry, as a foundation for it, may be conceived from a variety of cases. Without some knowledge of this kind, a man might for instance be digging for the ore of a baser metal, and overlook another of much more value, which might lie in his way. So great an advantage might he miss for want of knowing such ores. And it is more than probable, that the countries to which we trade for articles of small account are capable of furnishing us with commodities of much greater value, and will be found to do it, as soon as our attention is sufficiently awake to discover them.

T H E



THE
INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS
TO THE

COURSE of LECTURES **ON THE** **HISTORY of ENGLAND.**



GENTLEMEN,

A**F****T****E****R** having recommended to you the study of **GENERAL HISTORY**, and given you the best assistance I was able for that purpose, I would now recommend to your more particular attention **THE HISTORY OF YOUR NATIVE COUNTRY.** In

the subject of the former course of lectures you were interested as men, in the present course, as Britons, and Englishmen. A knowledge of general history will enable you to account for present appearances in the world in general, but you must look into the annals of your own country to account for what you see at home; and without this historical knowledge, every news paper of daily occurrences will, in fact, be unintelligible to you.

AN ordinary reader, indeed, is completely satisfied when he sees in the papers, a detail of foreign events and domestic occurrences; what battles have been fought, or what alliances have been formed; who is in, and who is out in the public offices of state, &c. In general, the bulk of mankind are content with seeing how things are, without looking far into the causes or consequences of things.

BUT a philosopher is not satisfied without endeavouring to see things, as much as possible, in all their connections and relations. He wishes to see how the present state of things arose out of the preceeding, till he have traced the constitution, privileges, powers, and all the advantages of his country to the earliest accounts of them:

and

and then, by comparing things of a similar nature, he may hope to be able to form a judgment of the probable consequences of things.

BESIDES, it is only a knowledge how things were actually brought to the state in which they now are, that can enable us to judge how they may be improved. Thus our knowledge of the wrong steps which have been taken in conducting our commerce, agriculture, &c. may teach us how to avoid them; and when we see the best schemes laid fairly open to examination, we may see how they might have been amended. And he is certainly a bad citizen, who hath leisure to make himself master of the history of his country, whence such lights may be received, and yet neglects so useful a branch of knowledge.

FOR the political knowledge of no person, in a country, the constitution of whose government is so free as that of ours, needs to be merely speculative. Every man who has connections has influence, by means of which, he may, in proportion to the importance of his character (to which knowledge gives great weight) bring his theories, more or less, into practice. Nor is there the least occasion for any man to go, like a knight-errant, out of his own

province, or quit his proper sphere of life to do this. Besides, I am not now addressing myself to low mechanics, who have no time to attend to speculations of this nature, and who had perhaps, better remain ignorant of them; but to young gentlemen, who now have leisure for studying the history and interests of their country, and who will not want opportunity to recommend schemes of public utility, or influence to assist in carrying them into execution.

OPPORTUNITIES, of conversation, at least every gentleman of a liberal education, or genteel fortune has, with men who are at or near the helm of affairs, and these are what no person, who has the interest of his country at heart, will neglect to improve for its advantage.

BUT a knowledge of the history of our country is, certainly, of more immediate use to those persons who may be called to bear an active part in its civil or military transactions; to those who stand fair for being called to assist or preside in its councils, direct its force, or to perform any thing which will probably enter into the history of their country. As every man's particular conduct in those departments is only a part, and a continuation of a series of
counsels

counsels, and of a train of exploits, which began before he was born, all the parts of which are strictly connected, in an infinite variety of ways; it is evident, that no succeeding part, such as every person must now act, can be well conducted with a regard to the preceding parts.

How ill qualified, for instance, would any military commander be to conduct a future war against France, who was wholly unacquainted with the conduct of the last war; when every new expedition and stratagem would, necessarily, have some kind of reference to, or be guided by, a view to a former expedition or stratagem. But the last war could not be understood without some knowledge of those preceding it. In this manner we might argue the necessity of, at least, a general knowledge of the whole of the English history to every English commander.

But the knowledge of history is still more evidently necessary to a minister of state. For every treaty which is made with any foreign power, and every measure which is taken with respect to it, must necessarily be adapted to the preceding transactions of every kind with the same nations. Perhaps a still more intimate acquaintance with the history of our country

try may be necessary to every person who is concerned in enacting or administering our laws.

Even the conduct of a Divine, whether of the establishment or a non conformist, must, in many particulars, be directed by a knowledge of the history of his country both ecclesiastical and civil. And the like is necessary or useful to every inhabitant of the country. Besides what more inviting subject of contemplation can a recluse person make choice of, than to trace the revolutions in church and state which his own country has undergone, to enter into the causes of them, and see the manner of their operation.

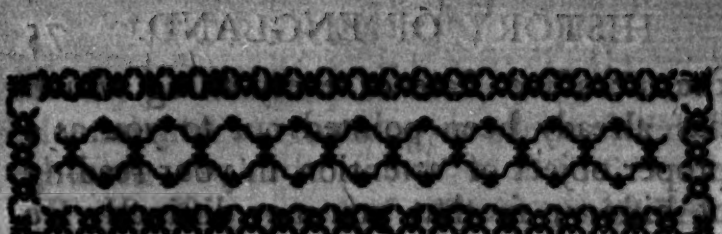
It is with the past and the present state of your own country, Gentlemen, that I shall, in the course of lectures we are now entering upon, endeavour to bring you acquainted. I have shown you already, in a former course, what are the authentic sources from which the history of our country is derived, in a succinct account of the most important of our ancient histories, law-books, and records of all kinds: I shall now endeavour to give you an example of the use you may make of your collections from these materials, by exhibiting under each reign, or at some convenient periods, the

the successive state of every thing which has already been pointed out to you as a proper object of attention in your reading of history; so that you may distinctly see every important change they have undergone, from the earliest accounts of things to the present time.

AND great pleasure, I cannot help promising myself, and you, Gentlemen, in tracing the security, the commerce, the power, and all the great advantages of our country, from their first rude beginnings, and through all the violences of the feudal times, to the present glorious age.

NOR to forget however that we are citizens of the world at large, I shall, at proper periods, note all the great revolutions which have taken place in it, and be more particular in the notice I shall take of foreign events, in proportion as (upon the extension of European politics in later ages) our affairs have become more connected with them: though I propose to touch upon all political events but slightly, referring you, for that article of information, to the histories which are already published, and be more particular than any other historians have been upon every other great object of attention.

THE



THE
PLAN of the COURSE of LECTURES
ON THE
HISTORY of ENGLAND.

THE method in which I have thought proper to explain the history of England is, to divide the whole into separate periods, and to digest all the materials relating to each under certain important heads, pretty much in the manner of Gordon's geographical grammar. A regular syllabus need not be given of the whole of this course, because it is not one subject, but a series of subjects, each of which is treated

treated in similar manner; so that the plan of one period is the same with the plan of any other.

THE reason which determined me to make choice of this method was its distinctness, and the ease with which it may be consulted. If any person want to see the state of arts, agriculture, commerce, &c. for any particular reign in the general histories of England, a great deal of time is often lost in looking for it, or even before one can find whether the author has attended to it or not: whereas, in this method, as every thing is classed under its proper head, it is seen, in a moment, what was the state of any article we are enquiring about in any particular reign. And it is likewise perfectly easy to trace the progress of it, from the earliest to the latest times, without the least confusion or interruption, as the account of every article is kept as unmixed as possible with any thing foreign to it. Thus, it will be equally easy for a student, who has this work before him, to get a clear idea of the state of every thing worth attending to in any reign, in its actual connections with every other object of attention; or, without taking in the whole at once, he may trace the history of any particular article,

as of our constitution, arts, laws, language, commerce &c. in its separate progress.

BESIDES, an historian who collects materials for history is less likely to omit any thing of importance, when he has all his heads of enquiry before him, digested in a regular manner; and for want of this method, express or concealed, many important articles are wholly omitted in our largest histories.

ANOTHER important use of a history of England digested in this method, to students, will be its serving as a commonplace-book of English history with the principal heads, and the chief materials under each head digested before hand, as a foundation for their own collections, whenever they may have opportunity and leisure to make any.

THIS is, likewise, the best method for a supplement to all our general histories. For this purpose, I have made the detail of political events pretty short; generally an abridgement of Rapin; but the account of every thing relating to the internal state of the nation, I have been able to make much fuller than it is given in any other history.

As some periods, or reigns, are much shorter than others, it cannot be expected that

that all the heads I have made use of should occur in every one of them. In a shorter period a more general head is chosen; whereas in larger periods, particularly when any article underwent a remarkable revolution, it will be found branched out into its proper subdivisions. In some reigns many of the articles may not occur at all; but then the state of those articles for that time may be found in the reigns before or after it, where they next occur. For many of the heads do not only contain an account of the state of an article for that particular time, but give a general idea how it stood in former times, and how long it continued in the same state, with a short view of its subsequent changes; before those changes be related in their proper place, with all their causes, circumstances, and consequences.

THE heads which most usually occur in every period, or reign of importance are the following.

EVENTS.

RELIGION AND CHURCH HISTORY.

GOVERNMENT.

-----CIVIL.

-----MILITARY.

OFFICERS in the Government.

PEERAGE.

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PEERAGE.

PARLIAMENT.

CONSTITUTION, or the balance of power
in the several orders of the state.

LAWs, including the general state of Law,
shewing our gradual removal from a
state of barbarism.

ADMINISTRATION OF LAW, comprising
the history of the courts of law.

FEEUDAL SYSTEM.

TENURES.

----- MILITARY.

----- SOCCAGE.

FRUITS OF TENURES.

DESCENT OF LANDS.

ALIENATION of land property.

----- involuntary, with the his-
tory of personal execution.

----- voluntary.

----- testamentary.

ENTAILS.

FORMS OF CONVEYANCE.

CORPORATIONS.

CRIMINAL LAW.

TRIALS.

PUBLIC GRIEVANCES.

SECURITY.

AGRICULTURE.

MINES.

COMMODITIES.

ARTS.

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ARTS.
MANUFACTURES.
INLAND TRADE.
FOREIGN COMMERCE.
SHIPPING.
RICHES, LUXURY, &c.
PUBLIC WORKS.
LONDON.
NUMBER OF INHABITANTS.
FOOD.
DRESS.
CONVENIENCES.
----- in houses.
----- cities.
----- roads, &c.
LANGUAGE.
LETTERS.
LEARNING.
EDUCATION.
MANNERS.
SENTIMENTS.
WAR.
----- ARMY.
----- NAVY.
CUSTOMS.
TITLES EMBLEMS OF ROYALTY, COURT
OFFICERS, &c.
DIVERSIONS.
COIN, AND THE COMPUTATION OF
MONEY.

L

PRICE

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PRICE OF PROVISIONS.

REVENUE.

TAXES, FUNDS, &c.

MISCELLANEOUS EVENTS.

GREAT MEN WHO FLOURISHED IN THE PERIOD.

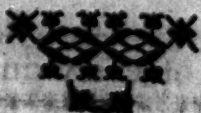
FOREIGN EVENTS.

BESIDES these titles, which occur in almost every reign, there are others which are convenient only in particular periods. And, to prevent confusion, every occasional article is classed under its proper head, though it occur ever so seldom, or but once in the whole history. The occasional heads are such as these. NAME. ORIGIN, DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS. SUCCESSION TO THE CROWN. PERSONS. IRELAND, SCOTLAND, &c. &c. &c.

AT the end of every distinct period, it is useful to exhibit to the students of English history a view of the state of empires for that period, in the CHART OF HISTORY; and, in the CHART OF BIOGRAPHY, the state of important lives for the same. But to exhibit the state of history in this mechanical manner to the most perfection, the chart of history must be drawn over again, upon a new and a more perfect plan. Time must be represented in

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in it as flowing uniformly, in the same direction, and with the same velocity with which it is made to flow in the Chart of Biography. The lecturer should by all means, draw one out in this manner for the use of his class. The chart of history already published is excellent for the first production of the kind, but will make a false impression upon the imagination, and mislead the conception of young persons, if it be not reformed in the manner here described.



MAN is a being endowed with various powers, by which he is fitted for various connections, and consequently, various relations, and various obligations. Moreover, the greater perfection we attain to, that is, the more we improve the



THE
INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS
TO THE
COURSE of LECTURES

ON THE
LAWS of ENGLAND.



GENTLEMEN,

MAN is a being endowed with various powers, by which he is fitted for extensive connections, and consequently, for various and extensive obligations. Moreover, the greater perfection we attain to, that is, the more we rise above the

the brutes, and the more exalted happiness we are capable of, the more complex, we may truly say, doth our internal frame grow; and, at the same time, the more extensive, and the more intimate are the connections we are capable of forming with other beings. Consequently, the more important is our conduct in so critical a situation, and the more attentive doth it behove us to be to every circumstance belonging to it.

It is our great happiness and advantage, that, complex as our situation in life is, we have faculties capable of comprehending it in all its important relations, and of deriving the greatest benefit from it. But still these great advantages we cannot reap, unless we carefully consider our situation, and sedulously endeavour to accommodate ourselves to it.

If we consider any particular station in life, as that of a Magistrate, a Physician, a General, &c. we shall immediately see, that it is impossible, either to discharge the duties, or enjoy the advantages of it, without thoroughly understanding it. And this maxim is equally true, whether it be applied to those situations which are peculiar to some men, or to those which are common to great numbers of mankind, or

even to the whole human race. Nay the more comprehensive is the capacity in which we view ourselves, the greater number of our fellow creatures we see in the same situation with ourselves, the more important are the duties which result from that situation, and the more it behoves us to study and attend to them. Thus the duties incumbent on us as men, and which oblige the whole human race, are the great duties of social morality, the violation of which is a crime of the most heinous nature, and has the most fatal consequences. For the same reason, the duties which we owe to the community of which we are members are greater, and a violation of them draws after it more dreadful consequences, than a neglect of the duties of more contracted and private connections: as these are of more importance, and stronger obligation than the duties which, Moralists say, we owe only to ourselves.

To apply these observations to the purpose for which I have introduced them. We find ourselves members of a civil society, in which our situation obliges us to have a constant intercourse with great numbers of our fellow creatures, and the rules of this intercourse were established long before we came into the world.

Moreover,

Moreover, the nature of things is such, that there is a necessity of obliging every member of the state to conform to the preestablished rules of it, whether he approve of them or not, or even whether he know them or not. And in such an advanced and highly improved state of society, as that to which the inhabitants of Great Britain are arrived, these rules or laws must be very numerous and complex: also many of them must needs be very arbitrary, as well as complex, or such as no person could conjecture by his own reason a priori, were the cases proposed to him. Many of our laws, likewise, took their rise from situations which now no longer exist: so that they cannot be properly understood without a review of the preceding state and constitution of the country. On several accounts, therefore, we may naturally imagine, it must require much study and application to understand a situation so complex as ours, and to know even the general rules by which our conduct must be governed, in order to prevent this large society of which we are members from being thrown into confusion.

It may be said, that there is in the country, a set of men, whose profession it is to understand the laws, and to assist o-

thers in complying with the forms of them. But, besides that no man of common prudence would chuse implicitly to trust himself and his property in the hands of any set of men whatever, if he could possibly acquire lights sufficient to direct his own conduct; how many situations are there, in which a man may be necessarily obliged to act wholly unprovided with any assistance, and yet, where his observation of, perhaps, some arbitrary forms will be necessary to secure himself, or to make an effectual provision for those persons who are most dear to him; as is remarkably the case with respect to wills.

AND if it be of importance to understand the laws of our country with respect to our own conduct, and the inconveniences we may bring upon ourselves by our ignorance of them, of much more importance is this knowledge to those persons whose fortune, and whose station in life give them any degree of influence over their fellow subjects, and who may laudably indulge the ambition which their fortune, family, and connexions inspire, of appearing in the character of magistrates, or legislators in the state; to have a voice in its councils, and to be concerned in enacting and repealing its laws, and in regulating its whole internal

internal policy. It requires no words to show, how absolutely unqualified is the man of mere wealth and rank in life to fill these important stations, without a knowledge of those laws, and that constitution of his country of which he is appointed the guardian. It is evidently as preposterous, as for a Physician to undertake to prescribe medicines without knowing the structure of the human body, and the manner in which medicines operate upon it.

INDEED, it is more than to be feared, that our excellent constitution itself has already been a great sufferer by the ignorance of those who have tampered with it. Had its laws been thoroughly understood by all persons concerned in the making and administration of them, it would, at this time, have been a far more uniform and perfect scheme of policy than it is. Dr. Blackstone has justly observed, that "the general incapacity even of our best juries of deciding, with any tolerable propriety, in those points of law in which they are required to decide, has greatly debased their authority, and has unavoidably thrown more power into the hands of its judges, to direct, to controul, and reverse their verdicts, than perhaps the constitution intended." And it is a just complaint

plaint that the excellent symmetry of our laws has been greatly destroyed by injudicious acts of parliament. As the same excellent author observes, "Almost all the
 "perplexed questions, almost all the niceties, intricacies, and delays, which have
 "sometimes disgraced the English, as well
 "as other courts of justice, are owing originally, not to the common-law itself,
 "but to the innovations which have been
 "made in it by acts of parliament, loaden
 "(as Coke expresses it) with proviso's,
 "and additions, and many times on a sudden penned, and corrected, by men of
 "none or very little judgment in law."

It is universally esteemed the disgrace of the English nation, that the gentlemen and scholars of it are generally so shamefully ignorant of that constitution which is their greatest national glory, and which is regarded with admiration and envy by all foreigners. And not only doth this ignorance expose our nobility and gentry to the contempt of foreigners, when they are upon their travels; but it absolutely maims them for reaping the proper fruits of travel. The proper advantage of travel in a political view, it is universally allowed, must arise from comparing the constitution, laws, and customs of foreign nations with those

those of our own : but how can this comparison be made, or any judgment formed of the constitution and laws of other countries with respect to our own, when that constitution, and those laws with which they are to be compared, are unknown.

It may seem, indeed, to be a matter of indifference, which of two things to be compared be known the first; but in this case, I apprehend, the difference is very great. Nay, in fact, it is only one of them, viz. the constitution of our own country, that can be known first. At home, a young gentleman has a better opportunity of procuring assistance in these studies : he may more easily be shown the several springs in the machine of government, with what it is that puts them in motion, and what it is that is most liable to obstruct their motions ; but abroad, let a gentleman take whom he pleases as a tutor in his travels, as both his tutor and himself will be foreigners, his observations must be directed, almost wholly, by his own sagacity. If a gentleman begin his travels wholly unacquainted with the nature of laws and government, he will not know what enquiries to make, or what objects to turn his attention to ; and therefore he must almost necessarily return as ignorant, as he set

set out. Whereas, a person who goes abroad properly furnished with a knowledge of the nature of government in general, and of the constitution and laws of his own country in particular, will know at once how to conduct his enquiries, and where to get all the intelligence he wants.

At Rome, every boy was obliged to learn the twelve tables by heart; and, about the time of the conquest, every Englishman of a liberal education, and particularly the clergy, excelled in the knowledge of our municipal laws, whence the common proverb, *Nemo clericus nisi causidicus*. Unfortunately, the civil law, upon its reception in the states of Europe, and introduction into this kingdom, engrossed all the attention of the clergy (many of whom were foreigners, and had acquired a fondness for it, and skill in it, before they were presented with livings in England) and from that time the study of our common law, instead of being made a subject of general and national concern, became the property of a particular profession. But the time is come, Gentlemen, when it is beginning to find its way back again into the seats of learning and polite education. It has already got an establishment at Oxford,

ford, and it cannot fail, in time, to recommend itself in every place of truly liberal education; *div bono videri li: vnuu in*

BESIDES, the study of the constitution and laws of our country; independent of its obligation upon us as members of the society, and personally interested in being acquainted with the rules to which our lives, our liberty, our property, &c. are subject, and independent also of any prospect we may have of being called to assist in improving or administering those laws; exhibits a scene which justly challenges the attention of a philosopher, and promises him the most rational entertainment. Philosophy and legislation were originally the same study, the regulations of society being justly deemed the most important subject on which the ablest men could employ their best faculties. And no wonder the subjects of Government and laws should have been considered as the greatest objects of attention which human life affords, since the happiness of mankind more immediately depends upon them. If it be the province of Philosophy to discover the properties of great objects; or, which is the same thing, to discover truths relating to them; and, with respect to things which are in a state of perpetual fluctuation,

noitustuo

fluctuation, to trace the causes of their present state, and judge of their progress in futurity; if variety joined with uniformity contribute to recommend a subject to a philosopher, this subject, of laws and government, is a proper field for philosophical speculation.

IN one respect, indeed, the laws and government of no human society afford so agreeable an object of contemplation as the works of nature, which are contemplated in natural philosophy and astronomy, or as the more abstract sciences of algebra and geometry. In these we find all the variety we can wish, enough to exercise the most exalted faculties, and yet a perfect uniformity reigning through the whole; whereas the constitution and laws of all human societies present too much contrariety and inconsistency. Yet there is so much uniformity in these systems, such a connection of parts, and such a tendency to the same great end in the construction of the several parts of this machine of government, particularly in our constitution, and the tenor of our laws; that, notwithstanding some real inconsistencies, the contemplation of them cannot fail to be highly entertaining to a philosophical mind; especially if the progress of our laws and constitution

constitution be attended to, as having arisen from the common principles of human nature, having varied with a natural succession of circumstances, and these, in an almost uninterrupted series, growing more favourable to improvements and to happiness.

To this account of the advantage accruing from this study, I may add, that without a knowledge of the constitution and laws of our country, it is impossible thoroughly to understand the history of it, by which means a studious person would deprive himself of one of the greatest pleasures he can enjoy.

BUT the true reason why the English laws are not more studied by the subjects of the English government, I am sensible, is not because gentlemen and scholars among us do not think themselves interested in the study of them, or that they apprehend the subject would not be pleasing, provided they could once thoroughly understand it, but they are discouraged by the great difficulties attending the study. Indeed, it has not been with this as with other sciences. In them the distribution of the subjects, and the method of teaching have generally improved with the enlargement of the science itself; whereas, in this case

case, the subject was actually grown beyond measure complex almost before any person ever thought of reducing it into method. And the attempts which have hitherto been made to methodize the vast body of our laws have not been so effectual, but that there is room for further improvement. But I flatter myself that I shall find myself less embarrassed than others have been, because I propose to do less than they have done.

ALL I intend, Gentlemen, in the present course of lectures, is to give, what may be called, the outline of the constitution of the English government, to lay down the general maxims and principles of it, and to remove the first obstructions, which lie in the way of this study; in order to encourage and enable you to enter more thoroughly into the subject in your own private researches. My business is not to make you lawyers, but to add to the proper accomplishments of gentlemen and scholars. I do not propose to instruct you in the arts of a profession, but to discourse with you upon our laws and government, as an important subject of science, and a branch of real and useful knowledge, without which I cannot help looking upon a liberal education as defective in a most essential part.

To

To make the plan of this course of lectures more easy to myself, and more intelligible to you, I shall suffer myself to be guided, as much as possible, by the plan of the course you have already attended, on the study of history. You were there shown what are the greatest and most important objects of attention to a reader of history, to a gentleman upon his travels, and, in short, to every person who wishes to be an intelligent and useful member of society. Now, in this course of lectures, I propose to show you what the present state of your own country affords that is most important under each of these heads, acquainting you what provision is made in our laws for securing every object which you have been taught to consider a most valuable in civil society, as your lives, liberties, estates, &c.

I LIKEWISE propose to delineate to you the external form of our government, with respect to its civil, its military, and its ecclesiastical constitution, with the rank and duty of all the officers or magistrates in each of these departments. In short, Gentlemen, I shall endeavour to show you in what kind of a situation divine providence has placed you; that you may see

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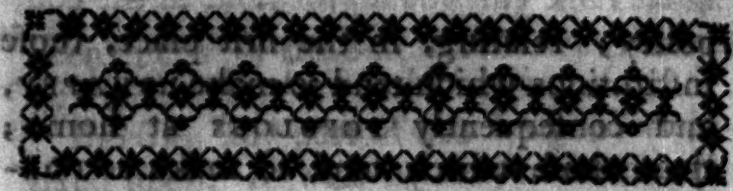
what rank you yourselves hold in the community of which you are members; and that, knowing what your place in the society is, you may know what is your duty, and what are your expectations.

What are the greatest and most important objects of attention to a reader of history, to a gentleman upon his travels, and in short, to every person who wishes to be an intelligent and useful member of society. Now, in this course of lectures, I propose to show you what the present state of your own country affords that is most important under each of the following heads:—
 * * * * *
 I propose to consider the rights of civil society, as your rights, liberties, offices.

I likewise propose to delineate to you the external form of our government, with respect to its civil, its military, and its ecclesiastical constitution, with the rank and duty of all the officers or magistrates in each of these departments. In short, Gentlemen, I shall endeavour to show you

A SYLLABUS

LECTURES ON THE



A SYLLABUS OF A

COURSE of LECTURES

ON THE

CONSTITUTION

AND

LAWS of ENGLAND.

THE GENERAL DIVISION OF THE
SUBJECT.

TO exhibit as distinct a view as possible of the whole state of this country, I shall first consider its civil, and then its ECCLESIASTICAL constitution and laws. In laying down what relates to the civil state of the kingdom, I shall be guided by a view to the great objects of all civil

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policy; relating, in the first place, those institutions which tend to make us **HAPPY**, and consequently **POPULOUS** at home; then those which tend to make us **FORMIDABLE** abroad, and lastly show the manner in which the **EXPENCES** OF OUR **GOVERNMENT** are defrayed. In explaining the provision there is made, in our constitution and laws, for securing the internal peace and happiness of the state, I shall consider, I. The **LEGISLATIVE** power of the state. II. The **EXECUTIVE** power. III. the **LAWS** of the state. IV. The **METHOD** OF **PROCEEDING** IN THE **COURTS**, in order to obtain the benefit of the laws. When I consider the laws of the state, I shall, in the first place, explain those regulations which are of a **PUBLIC** or more general nature; and then the mutual obligations of **INDIVIDUALS** to one another. Under the former of these heads, I shall place those laws which have for their immediate object the preservation of the government itself, those which relate to trade and commerce, and to public conveniences of various kinds. Under the latter head I shall shew the provision which our laws have made to guard our lives, limbs, liberty, reputation, and property, real and personal; also those which relate to the commerce of the sexes, and

and the domestic relations. After exhibiting the state of the laws respecting natives, I shall consider how they regard ALIENS; and when every thing relating to law has been discussed, the business of EQUITY will be explained.

BEFORE any part of this scheme be entered upon, it will be convenient to lay down the general DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY, and a description of the several ORDERS OF MEN in it.

THE CONTENTS OF EACH PARTICULAR LECTURE.

LECTURE I. **D**IVISION OF THE COUNTRY, AND OF THE PEOPLE. Counties. Hundreds. Tythings. Dioceses. Parishes. THE KING, AND THE ORDER OF HIS COURT. Order of succession to the crown. Style, and ceremonies in attending upon him. Title. THREEFOLD ORDER OF THE BRITISH COURT. CIVIL order. The Lord Steward. His court and jurisdiction. Officers under him. The MILITARY order. The band of gentlemen pensioners. Their captain, and the officers under him. Yeomen of the guard. Troops of the household. The

The horse and foot guards. The ECCLESIASTICAL order of the court. The chapel royal, and its dean. The sub-dean, twelve priests, and chapel clerk &c. Household days, Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday, and all Saints, with the ceremonies peculiar to each. Chaplains in ordinary. The king's closet, and the clerk of it. The king's almonry. The Lord Almoner. Ceremonies on thursday in passion week. The civil-list revenue.

LECTURE II. THE queen consort, her rank and privileges. Queen dowager. The prerogative of the Kings eldest son, the prince of Wales. The younger branches of the royal family. The NOBILITY. Peers by creation, descent, and prescription. Dukes. Marquises. Earls. Viscounts. Barons. Their antiquity ancient and present state, &c. Titles and honours common to all the nobility, or peculiar to some of them, or to their sons. Order of precedence among the nobility and their sons. The privileges of English peers.

LECTURE III. OF the English GENTRY, Baronets. Knights batchelors. Knights-Bannerets. Esquires. Gentlemen. OF the COMMONALTY. Yeomen. A general View of the privileges of the English commonalty. Of the order of the
the

the Garter. It's origin, officers, &c. Knights of the Bath. The office of Earl-Marshal. The antiquity and use of coat-armour. The kings at arms. Garter. Clarencieux. Norroy. Their several offices. The six English Heralds and the Brunswick herald. The pursuivants.

LECTURE IV. Of the supreme LEGISLATIVE power in the state, as lodged in the king and the two houses of PARLIAMENT. The members of these houses for England, and Scotland. Their qualifications, and those of the electors. Ancient state of national representation in the English parliament. Who may not sit in Parliament, in consequence of acts which have passed since the revolution. Laws relating to bribery and corruption in the election of the members of parliament. Method of summons. The power of each member. Laws and customs of parliament. Freedom of speech in the house. Privileges of members out of the house. Restrictions which have been put upon these privileges, with respect to members who are criminals or debtors. The peculiar privileges of the Lords, as members of the house of Lords. The prerogatives of each of the two houses. The manner in which bills are usually passed. Adjourning

proroguing, and dissolving the parliament. The speaker of the house of lords, and other officers belonging to it, as the clerk of the crown, clerk of parliament, and usher of the black rod, &c. The speaker of the house of Commons. The nature and antiquity of his office. The officers of the house. Oaths to be taken by the members. The grand committee, and other committees of the house. Order of speaking to bills, &c. method of promulgating the acts.

LECTURE V. OF the supreme EXECUTIVE power of the state. The power and prerogatives of the KING, in domestic and foreign affairs. In what sense he is the fountain of justice, of honour, of office, and of privilege, and the arbiter of domestic commerce. Of the instruments by which the power of the king is exerted. The kings PRIVY COUNCIL. How the members are chosen, and removed. The oath of the members. Method of conducting debates, ancient, and present power of the council. The president of the council. The cabinet council. The two principal SECRETARIES OF STATE. Their antiquity, ancient and present power. Their joint and separate office. The signet-office.

fic. The paper-office. The privy seal. The great seal of the kingdom. The office of the LORD CHANCELLOR as keeper of it. The order in which grants, &c. pass the several offices, before they come to the great seal.

LECTURE VI. THE power of administering the law. The nature of COURTS OF JUSTICE. Courts of record, and not of record. The office of Judge. Serjeants. Barristers. Registers, &c. Attorneys at law. The Kings attorney-general. Solicitor-general. The separate power of the house of Lords and Commons, as courts of justice. The court of CHANCERY. Its twofold jurisdiction. The ordinary or legal court, and the business of it. The court of equity. A general view of the nature of it, and of the causes that come before it. The twelve masters of chancery under the Lord high chancellor. The master of the rolls.

LECTURE VII. OF the court of King's-bench. Antiquity of it. The Lord chief justice of England, and the three other judges or justices of the kings bench. The extent of its authority. Its power over inferior courts. The division of the court of kings-bench into the crown-side

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side and plea-side. Of the court of COMMON PLEAS. The Lord chief justice of the common pleas, and the business of this court. Officers belonging to it. Of the Court of EXCHEQUER. When erected. The two parts of the exchequer. The twofold jurisdiction of the judicial part of it. The court of equity in exchequer. The Barons of exchequer. The curritor baron, and other officers. What business is usually done in the court of exchequer, and the form of proceeding in it. The four terms in which the three courts mentioned in this lecture are open, Hilary, Easter, Trinity and Michaelmas.

LECTURE VIII. OF THE INFERIOR COURTS OF JUSTICE. The court of ASSIZES. The circuits. The commissions of the judges, and the extent of their power. The QUARTER SESSIONS. The business done there. Who are obliged to attend them. The PETTY SESSIONS. Of the TURN, the power of the Sheriff in it formerly. The COUNTY COURTS, when their power was reduced. What business is now done in them. The HUNDRED COURTS. Their ancient and present state. COBARTS LEET. The original design of them, ancient and present state, &c.

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LECTURE IX. COURTS OF PARTICULAR AND LIMITED JURISDICTION. The counties Palatine. The dutchy of Lancaster. The counties corporate. The courts of the cinque-ports. The Lord warden of the cinque-ports. The reasons for the ancient privileges of the cinque-ports. The stannary courts. The court of the mayor of the staple. Of the law-merchant. The courts of the city of London. The extent of their jurisdiction and the officers who preside in them. The courts of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Courts of conscience. Courts-Baron, and courts of ancient demesne, their ancient and present state. Of the forest-laws. Officers in the forests. Justices in eyre. Regarder. Verderers, &c. The courts of woodmote, swainmote, and the courts of chief justice in the forest. Ancient and present state of the forest laws and courts. General remarks on the state of jurisdiction in England.

LECTURE X. OF the MAGISTRATES who act IN AN OFFICIAL CAPACITY, in the administration of the laws. Sheriffs. How nominated. Their judicial and ministerial power. Officers under them. How far they are accountable for the conduct of these inferior officers. Bailiffs.

Bailiffs. Bailiffs of hundreds, and special Bailiffs. Jailers. Justices of the peace. When instituted. Their joint and separate power. Coroners. The manner of taking an inquest. Treasurers of counties. Origin and power of constables. Other officers similar to constables. Penalties for negligence or oppression by public officers in the administration of justice.

LECTURE XI. Of the several denominations of laws used in England. Commons law and statute law. Equity. Foreign laws admitted in England. Use of the civil law. Of the canon law. Of the laws and the administration of them in Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Isle of Man, Jersey, Guernsey. LAWS OF A PUBLIC NATURE, and first of those laws which have for their immediate object, the preservation of the government itself. Of the laws concerning TREASON. The statute of Edward the third explained. Of trials for high treason. Punishment. Who may be guilty of high treason. Other offences respecting the king's person, palaces, &c. Of riots. The power of the sheriff, &c. to suppress riots. Of the late acts concerning riots. Routs. Going armed with dangerous weapons, threatening letters. An affray.

LECTURE

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LECTURE XII. Of the LAWS WHICH RESPECT PUBLIC TRADE AND COMMERCE. The regulation of fairs, and markets, ancient state of markets. The court of Pie-powders. Of Toll. In what circumstances sale in open markets does or does not alter the property of things sold. The clerk of the market. The laws concerning forestalling, regrating and engrossing, and also concerning monopolies. Of Apprentices. The mutual obligations of them and of their masters, and their respective remedies for ill usage. Poor apprentices. The provision that is made by our laws to keep arts and trades within the country. What materials of our manufactures are forbidden to be exported. Laws to prevent smuggling.

LECTURE XIII. Regulations concerning the COIN. What coin is current. Laws to prevent counterfeiting, impairing, or defacing the coin. Regulations of weights and measures. Laws concerning **BANKRUPTCY.** Who may be bankrupt. Method of issuing out a commission of bankruptcy. Power of the commissioners. Assignees. Provision for bankrupts. Punishment of fraudulent bankruptcy. The famous Navigation-act. The Post-office, its origin, and present state. An account

NO LECTURE ON THE

account of the establishment and present state of all the most considerable trading companies in England, and their respective legal privileges. The East India company. The Turkey company. The society of merchants adventurers. Russia company. East-land company. The African trade. Of the board of trade. Of foreign consuls.

LECTURE XIV. Laws providing for the public health. Selling unwholesome provisions. Promoting the plague. Laws concerning several other matters of public convenience. Of the highways. Surveyors of the highways. Penalties for obstructing or damaging them. Provision for the poor of the kingdom. How they were maintained before the reign of queen Elizabeth, and how since. Overseers of the poor. Who may be compelled to provide for their poor relations. Of settlements. Of the interference of justices of the peace in appointing provision for poor persons who apply to them. Houses for the reception of the poor, and for obliging them to work. Houses of correction for the dissolute poor. Who may be sent to them and compelled to hard labour. Officers in these houses.

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LECTURE XV. LAWS RELATING TO THE CONDUCT AND MUTUAL OBLIGATION OF INDIVIDUALS IN THE SOCIETY.

The provision that is made in our laws for securing men's lives. Self-murder. Penalty. Murder. In what circumstances a death will be deemed to be murder. Duelling. Killing officers of justice. Of manslaughter. The statute concerning stabbing. Of chance medley. Death per infortunium. Deodands. Se defendendo. Cases of justifiable homicide.

LECTURE XVI. Of the provision which is made in our laws for the safety of our limbs. The laws concerning maiming and disfiguring. Of battery, and assault. Laws in favour of personal liberty. Of Kidnapping. Laws relating to the writ of Habeas Corpus particularly that made in the reign of Charles III. Unlawful imprisonment. Laws which tend to secure men's reputation. Actions of the case for words. Laws concerning libels. Observations on them.

LECTURE XVII. The care which our Laws have taken of our PROPERTY real, and personal. Previous definitions of terms respecting estates in land. Of the TENURES by which estates are held. Origin of tenures. Tenure by military service, with

with its ancient varieties. Soccage estates, and their progress. Villenage. Ancient and present state of that tenure. Modern copyholders. Of manors and honors, with the demesnes, waste, services, court, and officers belonging to a manor.

LECTURE XVIII. ESTATES held by copy of court roll. Fines due upon them. Method of alienating them. Privileged villenage, or villan-soccage in lands of ancient demesne. Origin of their privileges. Frankalmoin. **DIVISION OF ESTATES ACCORDING TO THEIR QUANTITY OF INTEREST.** Freehold, and less than freehold. Fee simple, what words in grants constitute it. Lands in abbeyance. Estates for life. Properties of all uncertain estates. What these tenants may do without committing waste.

LECTURE XIX. Origin of modern Fees-tail. General and special. What may be intailed. Various methods which have from time to time been used to cut off intailed estates. **ESTATES LESS THAN FREEHOLD.** Estates of years. Estates at will. Estates at sufferance. Of conditional estates.

LECTURE XX. Of estates in gage. Life-gage. Mortgage. Case of several mortgages upon the same estate. Estates
in

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in expectancy. Remainders. What are essential to them, and who are capable of them. Remainders vested or contingent. Method of conveyancing to prevent disappointing contingent estates. An executory devise. Reversions. Less estates merged in greater.

LECTURE XXI. OF estates with respect to THE NUMBER AND CONNECTION OF TENANTS. Estates in Jointenancy. Coparceners. Estates in common. The statute of partition. The right of survivorship in all the above-mentioned estates, and other properties of them.

LECTURE XXII. OF TITLES TO ESTATES, viz. by descent, or by purchase. Of the degrees of consanguinity, lineal, and collateral. Different methods of computing those degrees in different laws. The eight rules of descent, or canons of inheritance from Dr. Blackstone explained. Gavelkind. Burrough English, &c. Who are incapable of being heirs. Heirlooms. How the heir is favoured by the laws of England.

LECTURE XXIII. OF estates acquired by purchase in its largest sense. Different properties of estates by descent, and estates by purchase. What right in lands may

may at this day be acquired by occupancy. In what cases the property of lands may be transferred by forfeiture. Crimes which occasion forfeiture. Alienations in Mortmain. Origin and progress of the statutes of mortmain. Alienation to aliens. Of waste occasioning forfeiture.

LECTURE XXIV. OF VOLUNTARY ALIENATION as made by deed, by matter of record, and by special custom. Of the nature of Deeds in general. Deeds indented and deeds poll. Their several essential parts. What deeds are void. Deeds which convey real property, or CONVEYANCES, either by common law or by statute. Conveyances by common law, original and primary, or derivative and secondary. Original conveyances, viz. Feoffments, Gifts, Grants, Leases, Exchanges, and Partitions. Of Feoffments. Livery and Seisin. Livery in deed, and livery in law. Of entry.

LECTURE XXV. DEEDS of gift of lands entailed. Difference between gifts and grants. What words make them. Who may make them. Of the attornment of tenants. Statutes relating to it. Of leases. For how long they may be made without writing. Obligation to repairs. Of what things leases may be made. A deed.

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deed of exchange. What words make it, and what is necessary to its validity. A deed of partition. Of derivative conveyances, viz. Releases, confirmations, surrenders, assignments, and revocations. A deed of release. By what words it is made. Of a general release. A deed of confirmation. The forms and effect of it.

LECTURE XXVI. A DEED of surrender. Who may make it. A surrender by operation of law. The statute of Charles II. concerning the necessity of writing, in order to assign, grant, or surrender estates. A deed of assignment. In what cases it is usually made, and by what words. To whom assignments may be made. What can, and what cannot be assigned. A deed of revocation. In what it differs from a disclaimer. What things are revocable. Of conveyances by statute. The statute of uses of Henry VIII. The occasion and operation of it.

LECTURE XXVII. Of a covenant to stand seized to uses. By whom and on what consideration it may be made. Various kinds of uses. Uses at common-law. A deed of bargain and sale. What words create it. How its operation depends upon the statute of uses. What deeds of bargain and sale may be enrolled, and within what time.

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Method of computing time at common law.
A deed of lease and release. The nature
of it, and its dependance upon the statute
of uses.

LECTURE XXVIII. OF ALIENATION BY MATTER OF RECORD. Private acts of parliament: The kings grants. Of Fines. Original of this method of conveyancing. Who are bound by fines. Where they may be acknowledged. The parts of a fine. Fines with and without proclamations. The time allowed to enter a claim against a fine. The uses of a fine. Of a Common-Recovery. The nature of this conveyance. The force of it. The parties to a recovery; viz. the demandant, tenant and vouchee. Recoveries with double or treble vouchers. Uses of them. In what cases recoveries are void, and in what cases they are felony. After what time all common recoveries are valid. Where they may be suffered. Of deeds to lead to uses, and deeds to declare uses.

LECTURE XXIX. OF incorporeal hereditaments, viz. common, ways, offices, franchises, corodies, annuities, and rents. Of common. Different kinds of it. Common in gross, appendant, appurtenant, and common because of neighbourhood, with their

their several properties. Common of
estovers, of piscary, and of turbary. Of
ways. Private and common ways. Who
are to repair them. Of offices. What
offices cannot be granted to heirs or in
reversion. Offices by common law and by
statute with their difference. What
offices may be exercised by deputy and
what not. What offices may be discharged
by the grantor. Difference between pub-
lic and private offices.

LECTURE XXX. OF FRANCHISES.

A forest. A purlien. A chace. A park.
A warren. Their different obligations and
privileges. Seizing the goods and chattels
of felons. Treasure-trove. Waifs. Strays.
Wreck. And of jetsam, flotsam, and li-
gan. Statute of Edward the I. concerning
wrecks. What franchises may be support-
ed by record, and how they may be for-
feited. Of corodies. What they were an-
ciently. Difference between corodies and
pensions.

LECTURE XXXI. OF ANNUITIES.

Kinds of them. Of rents. Rent-service.
Rent-charge. Rent-seck. How rents
may be recovered in a variety of cases.
The statute of George II. concerning rents
out of lands. Of prescription, as giving a
title to incorporeal hereditaments. The

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LECTURE XXXII. OF THE INJURIES WHICH MAY BE DONE TO REAL

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LECTURE LXIII. THE manner in which the expences of government are defrayed. The state of the English revenue in ancient times. At the revolution, and at present. Taxes. Customs. Excise. The officers employed in collecting and receiving them. Funds. &c.

LECTURE LXIV. THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATE OF THE KINGDOM. *This part of the course not being yet composed, it is not known how many lectures it may require; it is only conjectured, that about half a dozen may be sufficient,*

REMARKS

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ON A PROPOSED

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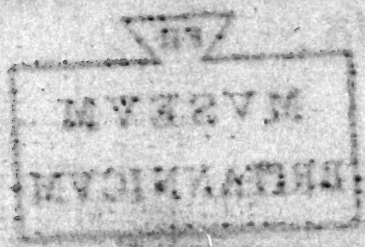
ON A PROPOSED

CODE OF EDUCATION.

SINCE the origin of the practice of
the use of the word "code" in the
field of education, the word has been
used in many different senses.

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In the present sense, the word is
used to designate a collection of
rules or regulations which are
binding upon the members of a
community. The word is also
used to designate a collection of
rules or regulations which are
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REMARKS
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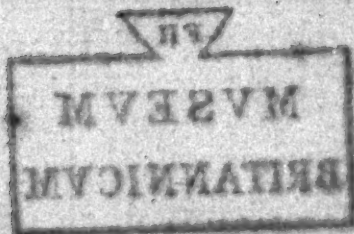
CODE OF EDUCATION.

SINCE the writing of the preceding Essay, I find the interference of the civil magistrate in the business of education strongly recommended, and the want of it in our own country complained of, in a treatise intitled, *Thoughts on civil liberty licentiousness and faction*, written by Dr. Brown; who has also more fully explained his meaning, in *An Appendix relative to a proposed Code of Education*, subjoined to *A Sermon*



Sermon on the female Character and Education. As the object for which this writer contends would render all private schemes for the improvement of education ineffectual; and consequently, frustrate all my labours, as well as those of many others, in this field, which is, at present, common to all who are disposed to labour in it, he cannot take it amiss, that I examine the exclusive claim of the civil magistrate, and endeavour to disprove the right which he ascribes to him in this case.

LEST it should be apprehended, that I mistake the views of this writer, I shall subjoin a few extracts from the work, which contain the substance of what he has advanced on the subject of education. He asserts, "That, the first and best security of civil liberty consists, in impressing the infant mind with such habits of thought and action, as may correspond with, and promote the appointments of public law." In his appendix, he says, that, "by a CODE OF EDUCATION he means a system of principles, religious, moral, and political, whose tendency may be the preservation of the blessings of society, as they are enjoyed in a free state, to be instilled effectually into the infant and growing



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“growing minds of the community, for
“this great end of public happiness.

In what manner this security of civil liberty is to be effected by means of this Code of Education, may be seen in the following description he gives of the institutions of Sparta. “No father had a right
“to educate his children according to the
“caprice of his own fancy. They were
“delivered to public officers, who initiated
“them early in the manners, the maxims,
“the exercises, the toils; in a word, in all
“the mental and bodily acquirements and
“habits which corresponded with the genius
“of the state. Family connections had no
“place. The first and leading object of
“their affection was the general welfare.
“This tuition was carefully continued till
“they were enrolled in the list of men.

With respect to the Athenian government, he says, page 62, “The first and
“ruling defect in the institution of this re-
“public seems to have been the total want
“of an established education, suitable to
“the genius of the state. There appears
“not to have been any public, regular, or
“prescribed appointment of this kind, be-
“yond what custom had accidentally intro-
“duced.”

He

He says, page 70, "There were three
 "fatal circumstances admitted into the very
 "essence of the Roman republic, which
 "contained the seeds of certain ruin; the
 "first of which was, the neglect of insti-
 "tuting public laws, by which the educa-
 "tion of their children might have been
 "ascertained."

He complains, page 83, "that the
 "British system of policy and religion is
 "not upheld in its native power like that
 "of Sparta, by correspondent and effectual
 "rules of education; that it is in the
 "power of every private man to educate
 "his child, not only without a reverence
 "for these, but in absolute contempt of
 "them; that, at the Revolution, page 90,
 "the education of youth was still left in
 "an imperfect state; this great revolution
 "having confined itself to the reform of
 "public institutions, without ascending to
 "the great fountain of political security,
 "the private and effectual formation of
 "of the infant mind; and, page 107, that
 "education was afterwards left still more
 "and more imperfect."

LASTLY, he asserts, page 156, "that
 "the chief and essential remedy of licenti-
 "ousness and faction, the fundamental
 "means of the lasting and secure establish-
 "ment

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"ment of civil liberty, can only be in
 "a general and prescribed improvement
 "of the laws of education, to which all
 "the members of the community should
 "legally submit; and that for want of
 "a prescribed code of education, the
 "manners and principles, on which
 "alone the state can rest, are in-
 "effectually instilled, are vague, fluctu-
 "uating and self contradictory. No-
 "thing," he says, "is more evident, than
 "that some reform in this great point is
 "necessary for the security of public free-
 "dom, and that though it is an incurable
 "defect of our political state, that it has
 "not a correspondent and adequate code
 "of education inwrought into its first
 "essence; we may yet hope, that, in a
 "secondary and inferior degree, some-
 "thing of this kind may still be laid;
 "that, though it cannot have that perfect
 "efficacy as if it had been originally of
 "the piece, yet, if well conducted, it
 "may strengthen the weak parts, and al-
 "leviate defects, if not completely remove
 "them."
 "In conducting my examination of these
 "sentiments, I shall make no remarks upon
 "any particular passages in the book, but
 "consider only the author's general scheme,
 "and the proper and professed object of it.

As

As the Dr. has proposed no particular plan of public education, I shall be as general as he has been, and only shew the inconvenience of establishing, by law, any plan of education whatever.

THIS writer pleads for a plan of education established by the legislature, as the only effectual method of preventing faction in the state, and securing the perpetuity of our excellent constitution, ecclesiastical and civil. I agree with him, in acknowledging the importance of education, as influencing the manners and the conduct of men; and that reason without instruction is a blind, and sometimes a dangerous principle. I also acknowledge, that an uniform plan of education, agreeable to the principles of any particular form of government, civil or ecclesiastical, would tend to establish and perpetuate that form of government, and prevent civil dissensions and factions in the state. But I should object to the interference of the legislature in this business of education, as prejudicial to the proper design of education, and also to the great ends of civil societies with respect to their present utility; but more especially, as tending to interrupt their progress to a state of greater perfection than they have yet attained to. I shall moreover

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moreover show, that it would be absolutely inconsistent with the true principles of the English government, and could not be carried into execution, to any purpose, without the ruin of our present constitution. I beg the candour of this writer and that of the public, while I endeavour to explain, in as few words as possible, in what manner, I apprehend, this interference of the civil magistrate would operate to obstruct these great ends. I shall consider these four articles in four distinct sections.

SECTION I.

I OBSERVED in the first place, that I apprehended a legal code of education might interfere with the proper design of education itself. I do not mean what this writer, seems to consider as the only object of education, the tranquility of the state, but the forming of wise and virtuous men; which is certainly an object of the greatest importance in every state. If the constitution of a state be a good one, such men will be the greatest bulwarks of it; if it be a bad one, they will be the most able
and

and ready to contribute to its reformation; in either of which cases they will render it the greatest service.

EDUCATION is as much an art (founded, as all arts are, upon science) as husbandry, as architecture, or as ship-building. In all these cases we have a practical problem proposed to us, which must be performed by the help of data with which experience and observation furnish us. The end of ship-building is to make the best ships, of architecture the best houses, and of education, the best men. Now, of all arts, those stand the fairest chance of being brought to perfection, in which there is opportunity of making the most experiments and trials, and in which there are the greatest number and variety of persons employed in making them. History and experience show, that, *cæteris paribus*, those arts have always, in fact, been brought the soonest, or the nearest to perfection, which have been placed in those favourable circumstances. The reason is, that the operations of the human mind are slow, a number of false hypotheses and conclusions always lead to the right one; and in every art, manual or liberal, a number of awkward attempts are made, before we are able to execute any thing which will

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will bear to be shown as a master-piece in the art; so that to establish the methods and processes of any art, before it have arrived to a state of perfection (of which no man can be a judge) is to fix it in its infancy, to perpetuate every thing that is inconvenient and awkward adhering to it, and to cut off its future growth and improvement. And to establish the methods and processes of any art when it has arrived to perfection is superfluous. It will then recommend and establish itself.

Now I appeal to this writer himself, whether any plan of education, which has yet been put in execution in this kingdom, be so perfect, as that the establishing of it by authority would not obstruct the great ends of education; or even whether the united genius of man could, at present, form so perfect a plan. Every man who is experienced in the business of education well knows, that the art is in its infancy; but advancing, it is hoped, apace to a state of manhood. In this condition, it requires the aid of every circumstance favourable to its natural growth, and dreads nothing so much as being confined and cramped by the unseasonable kind of power. To put it (in its present imperfect state) into the hands of the civil magistrate, in order to

prolong
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fix

fix the mode of it, would be like fixing the the dress of a child, and forbidding its cloaths ever to be made wider or larger.

MANUFACTURERS, and artists of several kinds already complain of the obstruction which is given to their arts, by the injudicious acts of former Parliaments; and it is the object of our wisest statesmen to get these obstructions removed, by the repeal of those acts. I wish it could not be said, that the business of education is already under too many legal restraints. Would to God these were removed, and a few more fair experiments made of the different methods of conducting it, before the legislature thought proper to interfere any more with it, and by that time, it is hoped, they would see no reason to interfere at all. The business would be conducted to much better purpose, even in favour of their own views, if those views were just and honourable, than it would be under any arbitrary regulations whatever.

To shew this scheme of an established method of education in a clearer point of light, let us imagine that what is now proposed had been carried into execution some centuries ago. For no reason can be assigned for fixing any mode of education at present,

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present, which might not have been made use of, with the same appearance of reason, for fixing another approved method a thousand years ago. Suppose Alfred, when he founded the University of Oxford, had made it impossible, that the method of instruction used in his time should ever have been altered. Excellent as that method might have been, for the time in which it was instituted, it would now have been the worst method that is practised in the world. Suppose the number of the arts and sciences, with the manner of teaching them, had been fixed in this kingdom, before the revival of letters, and of the arts, it is plain they could never have arrived at their present advanced state among us. We should not have had the honour to lead the way in the most noble discoveries, in the Mathematics, Philosophy, Astronomy, and I may add Divinity too. And for the same reason, were such an establishment to take place in the present age, it would prevent all great improvements in futurity. I will now add, in this place, that, arguing from the analogy of education to other arts which are most similar to it, we can never expect to see human nature, about which it is employed, brought to perfection, but in consequence of indulging

unbounded liberty, and even caprice in conducting it. The power of nature in producing plants cannot be shown to advantage, but in all possible circumstances of culture. The richest colours, the most fragrant scents, and the most exquisite flavours, which our present gardens and orchards exhibit, would never have been known, if florists and gardeners had been confined in the processes of cultivation; nay if they had not been allowed the utmost licentiousness of fancy in the exercise of their arts. Many of the finest productions of modern gardening have been the result of casual experiment, perhaps of undesigned deviation from established rules. Observations of a similar nature may be made on the methods of breeding cattle, and training animals of all kinds. And why should the rational part of the creation be deprived of that opportunity of diversifying and improving itself, which the vegetable and animal world enjoy?

FROM new, and seemingly irregular methods of education, perhaps something extraordinary and uncommonly great may spring, at least there would be a fair chance for such productions; and if something odd and excentric should now and then arise from this unbounded liberty of education,

education, the various business of human life may afford proper spheres for such eccentric geniuses.

EDUCATION, taken in its most extensive sense, is properly that which makes the man. One method of education, therefore, would only produce one kind of men; but the great excellence of human nature consists in the variety of which it is capable. Instead than of endeavouring, by uniform and fixed systems of education, to keep mankind always the same, let us give free scope to every thing which may bid fair for introducing more variety among us. The various character of the Athenians was certainly preferable to the uniform character of the Spartans, or to any uniform natural character whatever.

Is it not universally considered as an advantage to England, that it contains so great a variety of original characters? And is it not, on this account, preferred to France, Spain, or Italy?

UNIFORMITY is the characteristic of the brute creation. Among them every species of birds build their nests with the same materials, and in the same form; the genius and disposition of one individual is that of all; and it is only the education which men give them that raises any of

them much above others. But it is the glory of human nature, that the operations of reason, though variable, and by no means infallible, are capable of infinite improvement. We come into the world worse provided than any of the brutes, and for a year or two of our lives, many of them go far beyond us in intellectual accomplishments, and would go much farther beyond us, if they were upon a level with us in point of education. But when their faculties are at a full stand, and their enjoyments incapable of variety, or increase, our intellectual powers are growing apace; we are perpetually deriving happiness from new sources, and even before we leave this world are capable of tasting the felicity of angels.

HAVE we then so little sense of the proper excellence of our natures, and of the views of divine providence in our formation, as to catch at a poor advantage adapted to the lower nature of brutes. Rather, let us hold on in the course in which the Divine Being himself has put us, by giving reason its full play, and throwing off the fetters which short-sighted and ill-judging men have hung upon it. Though, in this course, we be liable to more extravagancies

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vagancies than brutes, governed by blind but unerring instinct, or than men whom mistaken systems of policy have made as uniform in their sentiments and conduct as the brutes, we shall be in a way to a pitch of perfection and happiness of which they can have no idea.

As men are first animals before they can be properly termed rational creatures, and the analogies of individuals extend to societies, a principle something resembling the instinct of animals may, perhaps, suit mankind in their infant state, but then, as we advance in the arts of life, let us, as far as we are able, assert the native freedom of our souls, and, after having been servilly governed like brutes, aspire to the noble privilege of governing ourselves like men.

If it may have been necessary to establish something by law concerning education, that necessity grows less every day, and encourages us to relax the bonds of authority, rather than bind them faster.



SECTION

SECTION II.

SECONDLY, this scheme of an established mode of education would be prejudicial to the great ends of civil society. The great object of civil society is the happiness of the members of it, in the perfect and undisturbed enjoyment of the more important of our natural rights, for the sake of which, we voluntarily give up others of less consequence to us. But whatever be the blessings of civil society, they may be bought too dear. It is certainly possible to sacrifice too much, at least more than is necessary to be sacrificed for them, in order to produce the greatest sum of happiness in the community. Else why do we complain of tyrannical and oppressive governments? Is it not the meaning of all complaints of this kind, that, in such governments, the subjects are deprived of their most important natural rights, without an equivalent recompence; that all the valuable ends of civil government might be effectually secured, and the members of

of particular states be much happier upon the whole, if they did not lie under those restrictions.

Now, of all the sources of happiness and enjoyment in human life, the domestic relations are the most constant and copious. With our wives and children we necessarily pass the greatest part of our lives. The connections of friendship are slight in comparison of this intimate domestic union. Views of interest or ambition may divide the nearest friends, but our wives and children are, in general, inseparably connected with us: and attached to us, with them all our joys are doubled; and in their affection and assiduity we find consolation under all the troubles and disquietudes of life. For the enjoyments which result from this most delightful intercourse, all mankind, in all ages, have been ready to sacrifice every thing; and for the interruption of this intercourse no compensation whatever can be made by man. What then can be more justly alarming to a man who has a true taste for happiness, than, either that the choice of his wife, or the education of his children should be under the direction of persons who had no particular knowledge of him, or particular affection for him, and whose views and
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maxims he might utterly dislike? What prospect of happiness could a man have with such a wife, or such children?

It is possible, indeed, that the preservation of some civil societies, such as that of Sparta, may require this sacrifice; but that civil society must be wretchedly constituted to stand in need of it, and had better be utterly dissolved. Were I as member of such a state, thankful should I be to its governors, if they would permit me peaceably to retire to any other country, where so great a sacrifice was not required. Indeed it is hardly possible that a state should require another which I should think of so much importance. And, I doubt not, so many others would be of the same mind, that there would soon be very little reason to complain of the too great increase of commerce in such a country. This, however, would render very necessary another part of our author's scheme; viz. putting a restraint upon travelling abroad, lest too many should be willing to leave such a country, and have no inclination to return to it.

Is there be any natural rights which ought not to be sacrificed to the ends of civil society, and no politicians or moralists deny

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deny but that there are some (the obligations of religion, for instance, being certainly of a superior nature) it is even more natural to look for those rights among those which respect a man's children, than among those which respect himself; because nature has generally made them dearer to him than himself.

If any trust can be said to be of God, and such as ought not to be relinquished at the command of man, it is that which we have of the education of our children, which the Divine Being seems to have put under our immediate care, that we may instruct them in such principles, form them to such manners, and give them such habits of thinking and acting, as we shall judge to be of the greatest importance to their present and future well being.

I BELIEVE there is no father in the world, who, to a sense of religion, joins a strong sense of parental affection, who would think his own liberty above half indulged to him, when abridged in so tender a point, as that of providing, to his own satisfaction, for the good conduct and happiness of his offspring. Nature seems to have established such a strong connection between a parent and his children, at least during the first period of their lives, that
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to drag them from the asylum of their natural guardians, to force them to public places of education, and to instill into them religious sentiments contrary to their parents' judgment and choice, would be as cruel, as obliging him to make the greatest personal sacrifice, even that of his conscience, to the civil magistrate.

WHAT part of the persecution which the protestants in France underwent did they complain of more feelingly, and with more justice, than that of their children being forced from them, and carried to be educated in public monasteries? God forbid that the parental affection of free born Britons should ever be put to so severe a trial! or as that which the poor Jews in Portugal suffered, many of whom cut the throats of their children, or threw them into wells, and down precipices, rather than suffer them to be dragged from them, to be educated under the direction of a popish inquisition, thinking the lives of their children a less sacrifice than that of their principles.

I HAVE not the least personal knowledge of Dr. Brown: I do not even know whether he have a wife or children;

between a parent and his children, at least during the first period of their lives, that

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but I should wonder if any married man, who is tolerably happy in that state, could be an advocate for such a scheme.

It was a measure similar to this which Dr. Brown recommends, at which the whole christian world took the greatest alarm that was ever given to it, in the reign of that great man, but inveterate enemy of christianity, the emperor Julian, who would have shut up the schools of Christians, and have forbidden them to teach Rhetoric and Philosophy. Similar to this scheme, in its nature and tendency was the most odious measure of the most odious ministry which ever set at the helm of the British government, and which was providentially defeated the very day that it was to have been carried into execution, I mean the SCHISM BILL, patronized by the Tory ministers in the latter end of the reign of queen Ann. Should these measures be resumed, and pursued, Farewell, a long farewell to England's greatness! Nor would this be said in a hasty fit of unreasonable despair. For, besides that such a measure as this could not but have many extensive consequences, it is not to be doubted, but that whoever they be who do thus much, they both would, and

could do more. Such a scheme as this will never be pushed for its own sake only.

In examining the present operation and utility of any scheme of policy, we ought to take into consideration the ease or the difficulty of carrying it into execution. For if the disturbance which would be occasioned by bringing it into execution would be so great an inconvenience, as to overbalance the good to be effected by it, it were better never to attempt it. Now, though the Doctor have laid down no particular scheme of public and established education, and therefore we cannot judge of the particular difficulties which would attend the establishing of it; yet, if it be such as would answer the end proposed by him, this difficulty would appear to me absolutely insuperable, in such a country as England.

Whatever be the religious, moral, and political principles which are thought conducive to the good of the society, if they must be effectually instilled into the infant and growing minds of the community, it can never be done without taking the children very early from their parents, and cutting off all communication with them, till they be arrived to maturity, and their judgments be

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be absolutely fixed. And if this author judged, that the reason why a scheme of this nature did not take place in Athens, was the difficulty of establishing it, after the people were tolerably civilized; he must certainly judge it to be infinitely more difficult, among a people so much farther advanced in the arts of life than the Athenians.

He will observe, page 53 that, "to give children a public education where no education had taken place, was natural and practicable"; but he seems to be well aware, that an attempt to carry any such plan into execution, in the most flourishing period of a free and civilized state, would be highly unnatural, without the least probable hope of success, and dangerous to such as took it in hand. For he says, page 53, that, "to effect a change of government only is a work sufficient for the abilities of the greatest Legislator; but to overturn all the preestablished habits of the head and heart, to destroy or reverse all the fixed associations, maxims, manners, and principles, were a labour which might well be ranked among the most extravagant legends of fabulous Greece."

SECTION

SECTION III.

IN the third place, I would observe, that an established code of education, such as this writer contends for, allowing its tendency to perpetuate the present constitution of this country in church and state, tends to interrupt its progress to a state of greater perfection than it has yet attained to.

I CAN heartily join with Dr. Brown, or any person, in their encomiums on the British constitution, when it is compared with that of any other country in the world. I really think it to be the best actual scheme of civil policy; but if any person say that it is perfect, and that no alteration can be made in it for the better, I beg leave to withhold my assent. Dr. Brown himself does not hesitate to acknowledge, that there are imperfections in it. How then can a real friend to his country wish

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with to fix its imperfections upon it, and make them perpetual. I should object to a system of education, the best possible in every other respect, if it had so unfavourable an aspect.

It will be said, that alterations may, indeed, be made, but cannot be made with safety, and without the danger of throwing every thing into confusion, so that upon the whole things had better remain as they are: but, allowing this, for the present, why should they be perpetuated as they are? If the proposed alterations were violent ones, that is, introduced by violent measures, they might justly give alarm to all good citizens. I would endeavour to stop the ablest hand that should attempt to reform in this manner, because it is hardly possible but that a remedy so effected must be worse than the disease. But still, why should we object to any state's gradually reforming itself, or throw obstacles in the way of such reformation?

ALL civil societies, and the whole science of civil government on which they are founded, are yet in their infancy. Like other arts and sciences, they are gradually improving, but they improve more slowly, because opportunities for making experiments are fewer. Indeed,

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hardly any trials in legislation have ever been made by persons who had knowledge and ability to collect from history, and to compare the observations which might be of use for this purpose, or had leisure to digest them properly at the time. Taking it for granted, therefore, that our constitution and laws have not escaped the imperfections which we see to be incident to every thing human; by all means, let the closest attention be given to them, let their excellencies and defects be thoroughly laid open, and let improvements of every kind be made; but not such as would prevent all further improvements: because it is not probable, that any improvements, which the utmost sagacity of man could now suggest, would be an equivalent for the prevention of all that might be made hereafter. Were the best formed state in the world to be fixed in its present condition, I make no doubt but that, in a course of time, it would be the very worst.

HISTORY demonstrates this truth with respect to all the celebrated states of antiquity; and as all things, and particularly whatever depends upon science, has of late years been in a quicker progress towards perfection than ever; we may safely conclude the same with respect to any political

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cal state now in being. What advantage did Sparta (the constitution of whose government was so much admired by the ancients, as is the method of giving permanency to it, by Dr. Brown) reap from those institutions which contributed to its longevity, but the longer continuance of, what I should not scruple to call, the worst government we read of in the world; a government which secured to a man the fewest of his natural rights, and of which a man who had a taste for life would least of all chuse to be a member. While the arts of life were improving in all the neighbouring nations, Sparta derived this noble prerogative from her constitution, that she continued the nearest to her pristine barbarity; and in the space of near a thousand years (which include the whole period in which letters and the arts were the most cultivated in the rest of Greece) produced no one poet, orator, historian, or artist of any kind. The convulsions of Athens, where life was in some measure enjoyed, and the faculties of body and mind had their proper exercise and gratification, were with me, far preferable to the savage uniformity of Sparta.

THE constitution of Egypt was similar to that of Sparta, and the advantages this country received from it were similar. Egypt was the mother of the arts to the states of Greece; but the rigid institutions of this mother of the arts kept them in their infancy; so that the states of Greece, being more favourably situated for improvements of all kinds, soon went beyond their instructress; while no improvements of any kind were ever made in Egypt, till it was subdued by a foreign power. What would have been the state of agriculture, ship-building, or war, if those arts had been fixed in England two or three centuries ago?

Dr. Brown will urge me with the authority of Plutarch, who largely extols the regulations of Egypt and of Sparta, and censures the Roman legislators for adopting nothing similar to them. But I beg leave to appeal from the authority of Plutarch, and of all the ancients, as by no means competent judges in this case. Imperfect as the science of government is at present, it is certainly much more perfect than it was in their time; else, the world has grown so much older to little purpose. On the authority of the ancients, Dr. Brown might

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as well contend for another institution of the famed Egyptians; viz. their obliging all persons to follow the occupations of their fathers, and perhaps this might be no bad auxiliary to his prescribed mode of education, and prevent the springing up of faction in a state. It would likewise favour another object which the Dr. has professedly in view, viz. checking the growth of commerce.

SUPPOSING this wise system of perpetuation had occurred to our ancestors in the feudal times, and that an assembly of old English Barons, with their heads full of their feudal rights and services, had imitated the wise Spartans, and perpetuated the severe feudal institutions; what would England at this day have been (with the unrivalled reputation of uniformity and constancy in its laws) but the most barbarous, the weakest, and most distracted state in Europe? It is plain from fact, that divine providence had greater things in view in favour of these kingdoms, and has been conducting them through a series of gradual changes, (arising from internal and external causes) which have brought us to our present happy condition, and which, if suffered to go on, will probably carry us

to a pitch of happiness of which we can yet form no conception.

HAD the religious system of our oldest forefathers been established on these wise and perpetual foundations, we had now been Pagans, and our priests Druids. Had our Saxon conquerors been endowed with the same wisdom and foresight, we had been worshipping Thor, and Woden; and had our ancestors three centuries ago caught this spirit, we had been blind and priest-ridden Papists. The greatest blessing that can befall a state, which is so rigid and inflexible in its institutions, is to be conquered by a people who have a better government, and have made farther advances in the arts of life than itself. And it is undoubtedly a great advantage which the Divine Being has provided for this world of ours, that conquests and revolutions should give mankind an opportunity of reforming their systems of government, and of improving the science of it, which they would never have found themselves.

In the excellent constitution of nature, evils of all kinds will, some way or other, find their proper remedy; and when government, religion, education, and every thing that is valuable in society seems to

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be in so fine a progress towards a more perfect state, is it not our wisdom to favour this progress? and to allow the remedies of all disorders to operate gradually and easily, rather than, by a violent system of perpetuation, to retain all disorders till they force a remedy. In the excellent constitution of the human body we see a variety of outlets provided for noxious humors, by means of which the system relieves itself when any slight disorders happen to it. But we see that, if these outlets be obstructed, the whole system is endangered by the convulsions which ensue.

SOME things in civil society do, in their own nature, require to be established, or fixed by law for a considerable time; but that part of the system is sure, for the reasons mentioned above, to be the most imperfect; and therefore it is the wisdom of the legislature to make that part as small as possible, and to let the establishments which are necessary be as easy as is consistent with the tolerable order of society. It is an universal maxim, that the more liberty is given to every thing which is in a state of growth the more perfect it will become, and when it is grown to its full size, the more amply will it repay its wise parent for the indulgence it gave it in its

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infant state. A judicious father will bear with the forwardness of his children, and overlook many flights of youth which can give him no pleasure, but from the prospect they afford of his children becoming useful and valuable men, when the fire of youth is a little abated.

I do not pretend to define what degree of establishment is necessary for religion, or for many other articles in civil society: But I think it is very clear that education requires none. And thus much I think is also clear, that every system of policy is too strict and violent, in which any thing, that may be the instrument of general happiness, is under so much restraint, that it can never reform itself from the disorders which may be incident to it; when it is so circumstanced, that it cannot improve as far as it is capable of improvement, but that every reformation must necessarily be introduced from some other quarter, in which case it must generally be brought about by force. Is it not a standing argument that religion, in particular, has been too much confined in all countries, that the body of the clergy have never been able to reform themselves, and that all reformations have ever been forced upon them, and have generally been attended with

with the most horrible persecutions, and dangerous convulsions in the state? I cannot help thinking also, that every system of government is violent and tyrannical, which incapacitates men of the best abilities, and of the greatest integrity from rendering their country any service in their power, while those who pay no regard to conscience may have free access to all places of power and profit.

It seems to be the uniform intention of divine providence to lead mankind to happiness in a progressive, which is the surest, though the slowest method. Evil is ever made to lead to good, and imperfect to perfect. The Divine Being might, no doubt, have adopted a different plan, have made human nature and human governments perfect from the beginning. He might have formed the human mind with an intuitive knowledge of truth, without leading men through so many labyrinths of error. He might have made man perfectly virtuous, without giving so much exercise to his passions in his struggles with the habits of vice. He might have sent an angel, or have commissioned a man to establish a perfect form of civil government; and, a priori, this would seem to have been almost

as essential to human happiness as any system of truth; at least, that it would have been a valuable addition to a system of religious truth, but though it would be impiety in us to pretend to fathom the depths of the divine councils, I think we may fairly conclude, that if this method of proceeding had been the best for us, he, whom we cannot conceive to be influenced by any thing but his desire to promote the happiness of his creatures, would have pursued it. But a contrary method has been adopted in every thing relating to us.

How many falls does a child get before it learns to walk secure. How many inarticulate sounds precede those which are articulate. How often are we imposed upon by all our senses before we learn to form a right judgment of the proper objects of them. How often do our passions mislead us, and involve us in difficulties, before we reap the advantage they were intended to bring us in our pursuit of happiness; and how many false judgments do we make, in the investigation of all kinds of truth, before we come to a right conclusion. How many ages do errors and prejudices of all kinds prevail before they are dissipated to the light of truth, and how
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general and how long was the reign of false religion before the propagation of the true? How late was christianity, that great remedy of vice, and ignorance introduced. How slow and how confined its progress!

IN short, it seems to have been the intention of divine providence, that mankind should be, as far as possible, self taught; that we should attain to every thing excellent and useful as the result of our own experience and observation; that our judgments should be formed by the appearances which are presented to them, and our hearts instructed by their own feelings. But by the unnatural system of rigid unalterable establishments, we put it out of our power to instruct ourselves, or to derive any advantage from the lights we acquire from experience and observation; and thereby, as far as is in our power, we counteract the kind intentions of the deity in the constitution of the world, and in providing for a state of constant, though slow improvement in every thing.

A VARIETY of useful lessons may be learned from our attention to the conduct of divine providence respecting us. When history and experience demonstrate the uniform method of divine providence to have

have been what has been above represented, let us learn from it to be content with the natural, though slow progress we are in to a more perfect state. But let us always endeavour to keep things in this progress. Let us, however, beware lest by attempting to accelerate, we in fact, retard our progress in happiness. But more especially, let us take heed, lest, by endeavouring to secure and perpetuate the great ends of society, we, in fact defeat those ends. We shall have a thousand times more enjoyment of a happy and perfect form of government, when we can see in history the long progress of our constitution through barbarous and imperfect systems of policy, as we are more confirmed in the truth, and have more enjoyment of it, by reviewing the many errors by which we were misled in our pursuit of it. If the Divine Being saw that the best form of government, that even he could have prescribed for us, would not have answered the end of its institution, if it had been imposed by himself; much less can we imagine it could answer any valuable purpose, to have the crude systems (for they can be nothing more) of short-sighted men for ever imposed upon us.

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In more respects than one, doth this writer propose to raise the terms on which we are to live in society; so that, under his administration, a man could enjoy little more than bare security in the possession of his property, and that upon very hard terms. The care he would take to shackle men's minds, in the first formation of their thinking powers, and to check their exertions when they were formed, would, I apprehend, put an effectual stop to all the noble improvements of which society is capable. Knowledge, particularly of the more sublime kinds, in the sciences of Morals and Religion, could expect no encouragement. He would have more restrictions laid upon the publication of books, he complains page 103 that, in the late reign, deistical publications proceeded almost without cognisance from the civil magistrate, and asserts, appendix page 20, that there are many opinions or principles tending evidently to the destruction of society or freedom, and which, therefore, ought not to be tolerated in a well ordered free community.

THE civil magistrate then, according to this writer, ought to controll the press, and therefore prevent, by means of effectual penalties (or else he doth nothing) the

the publication of any thing, that might directly or indirectly, thwart his views of civil policy, which, in England, comprehends the present form of our established religion. But so extensive is the connection of all kinds of truth, that if a man would keep effectually clear of the subject of religion, he must not indulge a free range of thought near the confines of it. The subjects of metaphysics, morals, and natural religion would be highly dangerous. There might heresy, or the foundation of heresy, without coming near revelation, or any of the peculiar doctrines of christianity. We must only be allowed to *think* for ourselves, without having the liberty of divulging, or, in any form, publishing our thoughts to others, not even to our children. A mighty privilege indeed! and for which we might think ourselves obliged to Dr. Brown, if it were in the power of man to deprive us of it. This is a privilege which the poor wretch enjoys who lives under the same roof with a Spanish inquisitor. The subjects of the Grand Seignior enjoy far greater privileges than those which Dr. Brown would indulge to Englishmen. For the greater part of them are allowed to educate their children in a religion which teaches them to regard

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Mohammed as an impostor. Nay the Pope himself permits those to live unmolested, and under his protection at Rome, who look upon that church of which he calls himself the head, as founded on fraud and falsehood, and to educate their children in the same principles. Nor hath the Pope, or the Grand Seignior, ever seen reason to repent of their indulgence.

WERE any more laws restraining the liberty of the press in force, it is impossible to say how far they might be construed to extend. Those already in being are more than are requisite, and inconsistent with the interests of truth. Were they to extend farther, every author would lie at the mercy of the ministers of state, who might condemn indiscriminately, upon some pretence or other, every work that gave them umbrage; under which circumstances might fall some of the greatest and noblest productions of the human mind, if such works could be produced in those circumstances. For if men of genius knew they could not publish the discoveries they made, they could not give free scope to their faculties in making and pursuing those discoveries. It is the thought of publication, and the prospect of fame which is, generally, the great incentive to
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men of genius to exert their faculties, in attempting the untrodden paths of speculation.

IN those unhappy circumstances, writers would entertain a dread of every new subject. No man could safely indulge himself in any thing bold, enterprizing, and out of the road of the vulgar; and in all publications we should see a timidity, incompatible with the spirit of discovery. If any towering genius should arise in those unfavourable circumstances, a Newton in the natural world, or a Locke, a Hutcheson, a Clarke, or a Hartley in the moral, the only effectual method to prevent their diffusing a spirit of enterprise and innovation, which is natural to such great souls, could be no other than that which Tarquin so significantly expressed, by taking off the heads of all those poppies which overlooked the rest. Such men could not but be dangerous, and give umbrage in a country where it was the maxim of the government, that every thing of importance should forever remain unalterably fixed.

WHAT might be expected from the business of education being lodged, by the state, in the hands of any one set of men, may be imagined from the alarm which the Newtonian system, gave to all philosophers

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at the time of its first publication; and from what passed at Oxford with respect to Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding, which has done honour to the English nation in the eyes of all the learned world. We are told in the life of Mr. Locke, in the Biographia Britannica; that "there was a meeting of the heads of houses at Oxford, where it was proposed to censure and discourage the reading of this Essay; and that, after various debates, it was concluded; that, without making any public censure, each head of a house should endeavour to prevent its being read in his own college." This passed but a little before Mr. Locke's death, about fourteen years after the first publication of the Essay.

THE whole of this system of uniformity appears to me to be founded on very narrow and short-sighted views of policy. A man of extensive views will overlook temporary evils, with a prospect of the greater good which may often result from, or be inseparably connected with them. He will bear with a few tares, lest, in attempting to root them out, he endanger rooting up the wheat with them. Unbounded free enquiry upon all kinds of subjects may

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certainly be attended with some inconvenience, but it cannot be restrained without infinitely greater inconvenience. The deistical performances Dr. Brown is so much offended at may have unsettled the minds of some people, but the minds of many have been more firmly settled, and upon better foundations than ever. The scheme of christianity has been far better understood, since those deistical writings have occasioned the subject to be more thoroughly discussed than it had been before.

BESIDES if truth stand upon the false foundation of prejudice or error, it is an advantage to it to be unsettled; and the man who doth no more, and even means to do no more, is, in fact, its friend. Another person seeing its destitute and baseless condition, may be induced to set it upon its proper foundation. Far better policy would it be to remove the difficulties which still lie in the way of free enquiry, than throw fresh ones into it. Infidels would then be deprived of their most successful method of attacking christianity, namely, insinuation; and christian divines might, with a more manly grace, engage with champions of deism, and in fact, engage with more advantage, when

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when they both fought on the same equal ground. As things are at present, I should be ashamed to fight under the shelter of the civil power, while I saw my adversary exposed to all the severity of it.

To the same purpose, I cannot help quoting the authority of the learned and judicious Dr. Warburton, "Nor less friendly is this liberty to the generous advocate of religion. For how could such an one, when in earnest convinced of the strength of evidence in his cause, desire an adversary whom the laws had before disarmed, or value a victory where the magistrate must triumph with him? Even I, the meanest in this controversy, should have been ashamed of projecting the defence of the great Jewish legislator, did not I know, that his assailants and defenders skirmished under one equal law of liberty. And if my dissenting, in the course of this defence, from some common opinions needs an apology, I should desire it may be thought, that I ventured into this train with greater confidence, that I might shew, by not intrenching myself in authorized speculations, I put myself upon the same footing with you [the Deists] and would claim no privilege that was not enjoyed in common." Divine Legation, page 7.

BUT sorry I am, and sorry must that
 worthy prelate be, that the paragraph
 which immediately follows, how proper
 soever it might be when it was written,
 would *now* look like a tantalizing of his
 unfortunate adversaries. "This liberty,
 " then, may you long possess, know how
 " to use it, and gratefully to acknowledge.
 " I say this, because one cannot, without
 " indignation, observe, that, amidst the
 " full enjoyment of it, you still continue,
 " with the meanest affectation, to fill your
 " prefaces with repeated clamours against
 " the difficulties and discouragements at-
 " tending the exercise of free thinking;
 " and in a peculiar strain of modesty and
 " reasoning, make use of this very liberty
 " to persuade the world you still want it.
 " In extolling liberty we can join with
 " you, in the vanity of pretending to
 " have contributed most to its establish-
 " ment we can bear with you, but in the
 " low cunning of pretending still to lie
 " under restraints, we can neither join nor
 " bear with you. There was indeed, a
 " time, and that within our memories,
 " when such complaints were seasonable,
 " and meritorious; but, happy for you,
 " gentlemen, you have outlived it. All

" the

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“ the rest is merely fir Martin, it is continuing to fumble at the lute though
“ the music has been long over.”

LET Peter Annet (if he dare) write a comment on this passage. So far are Deists from having free liberty to publish their sentiments, that even many Christians cannot speak out with safety. In present circumstances, a christian divine is not at liberty to make use of those arguments which, he may think, would supply the best defence of christianity. What are with many the very foundations of our faith are in a ruinous condition, and must be repaired before it will be to any purpose to beautify and adorn the superstructure; but the man who should have the true courage and judgement to go near enough to such rotten foundations would be thought to mean nothing less than to undermine them, and intirely destroy the whole fabric. His very brethren would stand off from him, and think him in league with with their adversaries; and, by an ill judging zeal, might call in the help of the ill-directed civil power to stop his hand. In consequence of which, notwithstanding his most laudable zeal in favour of our holy religion, he might stand upon the same

pillory; and be thrown into the same prison with poor and harmless infidels. Many undoubted friends of Christianity, and men of the most enlarged minds, will know and feel what I mean.

If any person should think that religion is not to be put upon the same footing with other branches of knowledge (which they allow to require the aid of every circumstance favourable to their future growth) that, since the whole of Christianity was delivered at once, and is contained in the books of the new Testament, there is no reason to expect more light than we already have with regard to it; and that they may therefore be justified in fixing the knowledge of it where it now stands; if they imagine that the objections of Deists may injure, but can be no real service to the cause, and that, therefore, they ought to be restrained; I can only say, I sincerely pity their weakness, and prejudice.

HITHERTO, indeed, few of the friends of free enquiry among Christians have been more than partial advocates for it. If they find themselves under any difficulty with respect to their own sentiments, they complain, and plead strongly for the rights of conscience, of private judgment, and of free

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free enquiry; but when they have got elbow room enough for themselves, they are quite easy, and in no pain for others. The Papist must have liberty to write against Pagans, Mohammedans, and Jews; but he cannot bear with Protestants. Writers in defence of the Church of England justify their separation from the church of Rome, but, with the most glaring inconsistency, call the Protestant Dissenters schismatics, and many Dissenters, forgetting the fundamental principles of their dissent, which are the same that are asserted by all Christians and Protestants, in similar circumstances, discourage every degree of liberty greater than they themselves have taken, and have as great an aversion to those they are pleased to call Heretics, as Papists have for Protestants, or as Laud had for the old Puritans.

BUT why should we confine our neighbour, who may want more room, in the same narrow limits with ourselves. The wider we make the common circle of liberty, the more of its friends will it receive, and the stronger will be the common interest. Whatever be the particular views of the numerous tribes of searchers after truth, under whatever denomination we may be ranked, whether we be called,

or call ourselves Christians, Papists, Protestants, Dissenters, Heretics, or even Deists (for all are equal here, all are actuated by the same spirit, and all engaged in the same cause) we stand in need of the same liberty of thinking, debating, and publishing. Let us, then, as far as our interest is the same, with one heart and voice, stand up for it. Not one of us can hurt his neighbour, without using a weapon which, in the hand of power, might as well serve to chastise himself. The present state of the English government (including both the laws, and the administration, which often corrects the rigour of the law) may, perhaps, bear my own opinions without taking much umbrage; but I could wish to congratulate many of my brother free-thinkers, on the greater indulgence which their more heretical sentiments may require.

To the honour of the Quakers be it spoken, that they are the only body of Christians who have uniformly maintained the principles of christian liberty, and toleration. Every other body of men have turned persecutors when they had power. Papists have persecuted the Protestants, the Church of England has persecuted the Dissenters; and the Dissenters, in losing their
name,

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name, lost that spirit of christian charity, which seemed to be essential to them: short was their sun-shine of power, and thankful may Britain, and the present Dissenters be, that it was so. But the Quakers, though established in Pensylvania, have persecuted none. This glorious principle seems so intimately connected with the fundamental maxims of their sect, that it may be fairly presumed, the moderation they have hitherto shown is not to be ascribed to the smallness of their party, or to their fear of reprisals. For this reason, if I were to pray for the general prevalence of any one sect of Christians (which I should not think it for the interest of christianity to take place, even though I should settle the articles of it myself) it should be that of the Quakers; because, different as my opinions are from theirs, I have so much confidence in their moderation that I believe they would let me live, write, and publish what I pleased unmolested among them. And this I own, is more than I could promise myself from any other body of christians whatever; the Presbyterians, perhaps, least of all excepted.

THE object of this forced uniformity is narrow and illiberal, unworthy of human nature. Supposing it accomplished, what
is

is it possible to gain by it, but, perhaps, a more obstinate and blind belief in the vulgar; while men of sense, seeing they are debarred the very means of conviction, must of course be infidels? In those circumstances, it would really be an argument of a man's want of spirit, of sense, and even of virtue to be a believer. Who would not, with every appearance of justice, suspect any cause, when he was not allowed to examine the arguments against it, and was only pressed with those in its favour?

WHAT sensible and upright judge would decide a cause, where all the witnesses on one side were by violence prevented from giving their evidence? Those who converse with Deists (perhaps Dr. Brown never did) well know, that one of their strongest objections to Christianity arises from hence, that none of the early writings against it are preserved. How much stronger, and even unanswerable, would that objection have been, if Christianity had been, from the beginning, so effectually protected by the civil magistrate, that no person had dared to write against it at all. Such friends to the evidence and true interests of Christianity are all those who would suppress Deistical writings at this day!

SUPPOSE

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SUPPOSE any article in a system of faith, so established and guarded, to be wrong, which is certainly a very modest supposition; let Dr. Brown and the other advocates of this scheme say, how it is possible it should ever be rectified: or that, if the truth should insinuate it self, by any avenue which they had not sufficiently guarded, how it could bring its evidence along with it, so as to command the attention, and acceptance of men of understanding.

INDEED, it is not so much from the mistaken friends of truth that we apprehend these measures of rigid uniformity; but rather from those who would sacrifice truth, and every other consideration to public tranquillity. From those MERE STATESMEN who, looking upon all systems of religion to be equally false, and not able to bear examination, will not suffer that examination to take place, for fear of destroying a system which, however false, they imagine to be necessary to the peace and well being of the state. The most unrelenting persecution is to be apprehended, not from bigots, but from infidels. A bigot, who is so from a principle of conscience, may possibly be moved by a regard to
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the consciences of others; but the man who thinks that conscience ought always to be sacrificed to political views, has nothing on which an argument in favour of moderation can lay hold. Was not Bolingbroke the greatest promoter of the schism bill in England, and Richlieu of the persecution of the protestants in France?

I ACKNOWLEDGE with the statesman, that the proper object of the civil magistrate is the peace and well being of society, and that whatever tends to disturb that peace and well being, properly comes under his cognisance. I acknowledge several religious and moral, as well as political principles have a near connection with the well being of society. But there are many cases, in which the happiness of society is nearly concerned, in which it would, nevertheless, be the greatest impropriety in the world for the civil magistrate to interfere; as in many of the duties of private life, the obligations of gratitude &c. In all such cases, where the well being of society is most nearly concerned, the civil magistrate has no right to interfere, unless he can do it to good purpose. There is no difference, I apprehend, to be made in this case, between the right, and the wisdom of interference.

If

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If the interference would be for the good of the society upon the whole, it is wise, and right; if it would do more harm than good, it is foolish and wrong. Let the sagacious statesman, therefore, consider, whether the interference of the civil magistrate be, in its own nature, calculated to prevent the violation of the religious and moral principles he may wish to enforce. I think it is clear, that when they are in danger of being violated, his presence is so far from tending to remedy the evil, that it must necessarily inflame it, and make it worse.

IT is universally understood, that REASON and AUTHORITY are two things, and that they have generally been opposed to one another; the hand of power, therefore, on the side of any set of principles cannot but be a suspicious circumstance. And though the injunction of the magistrate may silence *voices*, it multiplies *whispers*, and those whispers are the things at which he has the most reason to be alarmed.

BESIDES, it is universally true, that where the civil magistrate has the greatest pretence for interfering in religious and moral principles, his interference (supposing there were no impropriety in it) is the least necessary. If the opinions and principles

ciples in question, be evidently subversive of all religion and all civil society, they must be evidently false, and easy to refute; so that there can be no danger of their spreading; and the patrons of them may safely be suffered to maintain them in the most open manner they chuse.

To mention those religious and moral principles which Dr. Brown produces, as the most destructive to the well being of society; namely, that *there is no God*, and that *there is no faith to be kept with heretics*. So far am I from being of his opinion, that it is necessary to guard against these principles by severe penalties, and not to tolerate those who maintain them, that I think, of all opinions, surely such as these have nothing formidable or alarming in them. They can have no terrors but what the magistrate himself, by his ill judged opposition, may give them. Persecution may procure friends to any cause, and possibly to this, but hardly any thing else can do it. It is unquestionable, that there are more atheists and infidels of all kinds in Spain and Italy, where religion is so well guarded, than in England; and we are, perhaps, principally indebted to the laws in favour of christianity for what there is of deism with us.

FOR

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For my own part, I cannot help thinking the principles of Dr. Brown very dangerous in a free state, and therefore cannot but wish they were exterminated. But I should not think that silencing him would be the best method of doing it. No, let him, by all means, be encouraged in making his sentiments public; both that their dangerous tendency, and their futility may more clearly appear. Had I the direction of the press, he should be welcome to my *imprimatur* for any thing he should please to favour the world with; and ready, if I know myself, should I be, to furnish him with every convenience in my power for that purpose. It is for the interest of truth that every thing be viewed in fair and open day light, and it can only be some sinister purpose that is favoured by darkness or concealment of any kind. My sentiments may be fallacious, but if nobody were allowed to write against me, how could that fallacy be made to appear? Be the prayer of the magnanimous Ajax ever mine,

Πάντων δ' αὖτε, δὲ δ' ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἰδὼν

Ev de παν καὶ ἑαυτοῦ

Homer. Lib. 17. v. 646.

THIS writer artfully mentions only three opinions or principles, one under each class

class of Religion, Morals, and Politics, as necessary to be guarded by civil penalties, and not to be tolerated; and no doubt he has chosen those principles which a friend to his country would most wish to have suppressed, and with regard to which, he would least scrupulously examine the means that might be used to suppress them. This, Britons, is the method in which arbitrary power has ever been introduced: This is well known to have been the method used by the thirty tyrants of Athens. They first cut off persons the most generally obnoxious, and such as the standing laws could not reach. And even that intelligent people were so far duped by their resentment, that they were not aware, that the very same methods might be employed to take off the worthiest men in the city. And if ever arbitrary power gain ground in England, it will be by means of the seeming necessity of having recourse to illegal methods, in order to come at opinions or persons generally obnoxious. But when these illegal practices have once been authorized, and have passed into precedents, all persons and all opinions will lie at the mercy of the prime minister, who will animadvert upon whatever gives him umbrage.

HAPPY

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ON HAPPY would it be for the unsuspecting sons of liberty, if their enemies would say, at first, how far they meant to proceed against them. To say, as Dr. Brown does, that there are MANY opinions and principles which ought not to be tolerated, and to instance only in three, is very suspicious and alarming. Let him say, in the name of all the friends of liberty, I challenge him to say, how many more he has thought proper not to mention, and what they are; that we may not admit the foot of arbitrary power, before we see what size of a body the monster has to follow it.

SUCH is the connection and gradation of opinions, that if once we admit there are some which ought to be guarded by civil penalties, it will ever be impossible to distinguish, to general satisfaction, between those which may be tolerated, and those which may not. No two men living, were they questioned strictly, would give the same list of such fundamentals. Sure I am, that Dr. Brown and myself would differ greatly, were we called upon to give in ours. Far easier were it to distinguish the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms in nature, which yet naturalists find to be impossible. But a happy circumstance it is for human society, that,

that, in religion and morals, there is no necessity to distinguish them at all. The more important will guard themselves by their own evidence, and the less important do not deserve to be guarded.

POLITICAL principles, indeed, may require penal sanctions; but then it is for the very same reason that religious and moral principles require none. It is because they do not carry their own evidence along with them. Governments actually established must guard themselves by penalties and intolerance, because forms of government, and persons presiding in them being nearly arbitrary, it may not be very evident that a different government, or different governors, would not be better for a state. Laws relating to treason are to be considered as a matter of self-preservation. But even with respect to civil government, it is better not to guard every thing so strongly as that no alteration can ever be made in it. Nay, alterations are daily proposed, and daily take place in our civil government, in things both of great and small consequence. They are improvements in Religion only that receive no countenance from the state: a state singular and hard!

BESIDES, so many are the subtle distinctions relating to religion and morals, that
no

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no magistrate, or body of magistrates, could be supposed to enter into them; and yet, without entering into them, no laws they could make would be effectual. To instance in the first of Dr. Brown's principles, and the most essential of them, viz. the being of a God. The magistrate must define strictly what he means by the term God, otherwise Epicureans and Spinozists might be no atheists; or Arians or Athanasians might be obnoxious to the law. The magistrate must likewise punish, not only those who directly maintain the principles of Atheism (for evasions are so easy to find, that such laws would hurt no body) but he must punish those who do it indirectly; and what opinions are there not, in religion, morals, and even natural philosophy, which might not be said to lead to Atheism? The doctrine of equivocal generation, for instance, might certainly be thought of this kind, as well as many others, which have been very harmlessly maintained by many good christians.

I am sensible, that in the few particulars which Dr. Brown has thought proper to mention, his intolerant principles are countenanced by Mr. Locke; but, as far as I can recollect, these are all the opinions which

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which

which Locke would not tolerate; whereas this writer asserts there are MANY; so that he must provide himself with some other authority for the rest. Besides, I make no doubt, the great Mr. Locke would, without the least reluctance, give up any of his assertions, upon finding so bad an use made of them, and that the consequences of them were so very unfavourable to his own great object, and contradictory to his leading principles; and that he would, with indignation, give up any adherents to arbitrary power, who, from such a pretence as this, should claim his protection from the generous pursuit of the friends of liberty, of reason, and of mankind. And, after all, the controversy is not about men, but principles. And so great an enemy as Mr. Locke was to all authority in matters of opinion, would least of all except his own.

BESIDES, as was in some measure observed before, all these systems of uniformity, in political or religious institutions, are the highest injustice to posterity. What natural right have we to judge for them, any more than our ancestors had to judge for us? Our ancestors, from the time of the Britons, had, no doubt, as high an opinion of their political and religious institutions as we can have of ours. But
should

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should we not have thought the fate of Great Britain singularly unhappy, if they had been entailed upon us? And the very same reason of complaint will our posterity have, if we take any methods to perpetuate what we approve, as best for ourselves in present circumstances; for farther than this we cannot pretend to see.

LET us, by all means, make our own circumstances as easy as possible; but let us lay posterity under no difficulty in improving theirs, if they see it convenient; rather, let all plans of policy be such as will easily admit of extension, and improvements of all kinds, and that the least violence, or difficulty of any kind, may attend the making of them. This is, at least, very desirable, and I believe it is far from being impracticable. However, though it should not be thought proper to unfix any thing which is at present established, let us proceed no farther than is manifestly necessary in those establishments.

LET it be carefully noted, that I am by no means pleading against religious establishments in general, nor mean to hint any thing disrespectful of that which prevails in this nation; but only argue against fixing every thing so unalterably, that if a

change, in any particular, should be desired by a great majority of the clergy themselves, they should not be able to accomplish it, without the danger of throwing every thing into confusion. Such rigid establishments imply the authors of them to be well persuaded of their own infallibility. For no man, who could suppose it possible for himself to be mistaken, would think it was reasonable, that, after the mistake was discovered, and universally acknowledged to be a mistake, all persons (if they would enjoy the advantage of the establishment) should ever after be obliged to affirm, that they believed it to be no mistake, but perfectly agreeable to truth.

How far this is the case with the church of England, let those of her clergy say, who may understand the subject of religion a little better than the first reformers, just emerging from the darkness of popery, who may have some reluctance to subscribe what they do not believe, and who may feel, notwithstanding every evasion to which they can have recourse, that a church preferment is dearly bought at the expence of a solemn falsehood. I do not appeal to those who may really believe all they subscribe, or to those who may subscribe without

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out thinking at all, or to those who would wait upon any minister of state in the world with a *carte blanche* ready signed. In saying this, I even hint no more than what many of the greatest ornaments of the church have said again and again; that some things, in our present establishment, are wrong, and want reformation; and that there are thinking and unthinking, honest and dishonest men in this, as well as in every other profession.

POSTERITY, it may be said, will never complain of our institutions, when they have been educated in a strong and invincible attachment to them. It is true, and had we been Pagans or Papists, through a similar system of education, fixed in a more early period, we should not have complained. We, like the old Spartans, or the sons of bigotry in Spain and Portugal at present, might have been hugging our chains, and have been proud of them. But persons who could have made a comparison between our actual condition, and what it would have been, had those institutions not been made, would have complained for us. They would have seen us to be a less great, wise, and happy people; which affords the same argument against

throwing difficulties in the way of future improvements.

HIGHLY as we think of the wisdom of our ancestors, we justly think ourselves, of the present age, wiser, and, if we be not blinded by the mere prejudice of education, must see, that we can, in many respects, improve upon the institutions they have transmitted to us. Let us not doubt, but that every generation in posterity will be as much superior to us in political, and in all kinds of knowledge, and that they will be able to improve upon the best civil and religious institutions that we can prescribe for them. Instead then of adding to the difficulties, which we ourselves find in making the improvements we wish to introduce, let us make this great and desirable work easier to them, than it has been to us.

HOWEVER, such is the progress of knowledge, and the enlargement of the human mind, that, in future time, notwithstanding all possible obstructions thrown in the way of human genius, men of great and exalted views will undoubtedly arise, who will see through and detest our narrow politics; when the ill-advisers, and the ill-advised authors of these illiberal, and contracted schemes will be remembered

remembered with infamy and execration: when, notwithstanding their talents as statesmen or writers, and though they may have pursued the same mind-enslaving schemes by more artful, and less sanguinary methods, they will be ranked among the Bonners and the Gardiners of past ages. They must have been worse than Bonners or Gardiners, who could pursue the same ends by the same means, in this more humane and more enlightened age.

THIS seems to be the time, when the minds of men are opening to large and generous views of things. Politics are more extended in practice, and better understood in theory. Religious knowledge is greatly advanced, and the principle of universal toleration is gaining ground apace. Schemes of ecclesiastical policy, which, in times of barbarity, ignorance, and superstition were intimately interwoven with schemes of civil policy, and which, in fact, made the greatest part of the old political mixed constitution, have been gradually excluded; till, at present, though ecclesiastical power be looked upon as an useful support and auxiliary of civil government, it is pretty much detached from it. And the more sensible part of mankind are evidently in a progress to the belief, that

that ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction, being things of a totally different nature, ought if possible, to be wholly disengaged from one another. Religious sentiments, with respect to their influence on civil society, will perhaps be regarded, in time, as a theory of morals, only of a higher and more perfect kind, excellent to enforce a regard to magistracy, and the political duties, but improperly adopted into the same system, and enforced by the same penalties. Till we know whether this work, which seems to be going forward in several parts of Europe, be of God, or not, let us not take, at least any rigid and violent methods to oppose it, but patiently wait the issue; unless, in the mean time, the disorders of the state absolutely force us into violent measures. At present notwithstanding some trifling alarms, perhaps artfully raised and propagated, may seem to give a handle to the friends of arbitrary power to make use of some degree of coercion, more gentle measures seem better adapted to ensure tranquility.

ENGLAND hath hitherto taken the lead in almost every thing great and good, and her citizens stand foremost in the annals of fame, as having shaken off the fetters which hung upon the human mind, and called

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called it forth to the exertion of its noblest powers. And her constitution has been so far from receiving any injury from the efforts of these her free born enterprising sons, that she is, in part, indebted to them for the unrivalled reputation she now enjoys, of having the best system of policy in Europe. After weathering so many real storms, let us not quit the helm at the apprehension of imaginary dangers, but steadily hold on in what, I trust, is the most glorious course that a human government can be in. Let all the friends of liberty and human nature join to free the minds of men from the shackles of narrow and impolitic laws. Let us be free ourselves, and leave the blessings of freedom to our posterity.



SECTION

SECTION IV.

HITHERTO I have argued against established methods of education upon general principles, showing how unfavourable they are to the great ends of all civil societies, and how they would tend to interrupt their progress towards a more perfect state than they have yet arrived to, with only occasional references to the English constitution. And in these arguments, I have likewise supposed these methods of education, whatever they are, actually established, and to have operated to their full extent. I shall now add, that, before these methods can be established, and produce their full effect, they must occasion a very considerable alteration in the English constitution, and almost inevitably destroy the freedom of it; so that the

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the thing which would, in fact, be perpetuated, would not be the present constitution of England, but something very different from it, and more despotic. An alteration of so great importance, which tends to defeat one of the principal objects of the English government, cannot but give just cause of alarm to every friend of the present happy constitution and liberties of this country. In support of this assertion, I desire no other argument than that with which Dr. Brown himself furnishes me, from the influence he allows to education, operating, likewise, in the very manner which he describes, and to the very end for which he advises the establishment of its mode.

EDUCATION is considered by the Dr. only in a political view, as useful to instil into the minds of youth particular maxims of policy, and to give them an attachment to particular forms of it; or as tending to superinduce such habits of mind, and to give such a general turn of thinking, as would correspond with the genius of a particular state. This education he would have to be universal and uniform; and indeed, if it were not so, it could not possibly answer the end proposed. It must, therefore,

fore, be conducted by one set of men. But it is impossible to find any set of men, who shall have an equal regard to all the parts of our constitution; and whatever part is neglected in such a system of education can not fail to be a sufferer.

THE English government is a mixture of regal, aristocratical, and democratical power; and if the public education should be more favourable to any one of these than to another, or more than its present importance in the constitution requires, the balance of the whole would necessarily be lost. Too much weight would be thrown into some of the scales, and the constitution be overturned. If the Commons, representing the body of the people, had the choice of these public instructors, which is almost impossible, we should see a republic rise out of the ruins of our present government; if the Lords, which is highly improbable, we should, in the end, have an aristocracy; and if the court had this nomination, which it may be taken for granted would be the case (as all the executive power of the state is already lodged in the hands of the sovereign) it could not but occasion a very dangerous accession of power to the crown, and we might justly expect a system of education, principles,

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principles, and manners favourable to despotism. Every man would be educated with principles, which would lead him to concur with the views of the court. All that opposition from the country, which is so salutary in this nation, and so essential to the liberties of England, would be at an end. And when once the spirit of despotism was thus established, and had triumphed over all opposition, we might soon expect to see the forms of it established too, and thereby the very doors shut against old English liberty, and effectually guarded against the possibility of its return, except by violence; which would then be the only method of its re-entrance.

It is evident to common understanding, that the true spirit and maxims of a mixed government can no otherwise be continued, than by every man's educating his children in his own way; and that if any one part provided for the education of the whole, that part would soon gain the ascendancy in the whole; and, if it were capable of it, would become the whole. Were a state, for instance, to consist of Papists and Protestants, and the Papists had the sole power of education, protestantism would expire with that generation: whereas

whereas, if the Papists and Protestants educated each their own children, the same proportion would continue to subsist between them, and the balance of power would remain the same. For the same reason the only method of preserving the balance, which at present subsists among the several political and religious parties in Great Britain, is for each party to provide for the education of their own children.

IN this way, there will be a fair prospect of things continuing nearly upon their present footing, for a considerable time; but subject to those gradual alterations which, it may be hoped, will prove favourable to the best interests of the society upon the whole. Whereas, were the direction of the whole business of education thrown into the hands of the court, it would be such an accession of power to the regal part of our constitution, as could not fail to alarm all the friends of civil liberty; as all the friends of religious liberty would be justly alarmed, if it should devolve upon the established clergy. And it were the greatest injustice to the good sense of free born Britons, to suppose the noble spirit of religious liberty, and a zeal for the rights
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of free enquiry confined within the narrow circle of Protestant Dissenters.

I DOUBT not, the wisest and the most worthy of the English prelates would rather see the privileges of the Dissenters enlarged than abridged, in any important article; for, allowing our dissent to be ever so unreasonable, there is no man, who has the least knowledge of history or of human nature, but must be sensible, that the very distinguished reputation which the body of the English clergy enjoy at present is, not a little, owing to the existence, and respectable figure of the Protestant Dissenters. Several of the most discerning of the English bishops have given their testimony, directly or indirectly, to this truth; particularly, if I remember right, bishop Gibson, in his charges to the clergy of his diocess. The present state of the dissenting interest can give no alarm to the established clergy with respect to their temporalities; and, certainly, the interests of religious knowledge, which all wise and good men of every denomination have most at heart, cannot fail to be promoted by that spirit of emulation, which will always subsist betwixt scholars and writers in two opposite persuasions.

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THERE is no power on earth, but has grown exorbitant when it has met with no control. What was the character of the Romish clergy before the reformation? how shamefully ignorant, imperious, lazy, and debauched were the bulk of them; whereas very great numbers of them are now sensible, moderate, and virtuous; and little, in comparison, of the old heaven remains except in Spain and Portugal, where the clergy have no intercourse with Protestants, which might call forth an exertion of their faculties, and check the extravagance of their appetites and passions. To say that the English clergy, in future time, would not run into the vices, and sink into the contempt, into which the Romish clergy were sunk before the reformation, when they were in the same circumstances, would be to say they were not men.

It is Puffendorf, I think, who accounts for the great superiority of the English clergy over the Swedish upon this principle. In Sweden, though it be a protestant country, no dissenters are allowed; and their clergy have never produced anything, in Ethics or Divinity, which deserves notice. Whoever made the observation, there is no doubt of the fact.

A FEW narrow minded, and short-sighted bigots, among the inferior clergy, may wish the extinction of the dissenting interest, and might be ready to gratify their hatred and blind zeal, by persecuting those of their brethren whose consciences are, unhappily, a little more tender than their own; but, certainly, there would not be wanting, in this age, men enow of more humanity, of juster sentiments, and of more enlarged views, among the higher ranks in the church, who would, with indignation, snatch the torch from their misguided hands. Their low talents were better confined to a humbler sphere, in which the fire of their little souls might very harmlessly vent itself in occasional declamatory invectives, which would only serve to shew the malignity of their own tempers, or the meanness and impotence of bigotry, and make all men of sense more in love with the true principles of christian moderation. The indelible infamy which would, to the latest posterity, pursue the man, who should form, countenance, or even connive at, persecuting measures, in this age of moderation and good sense, will effectually deter men of understanding, and of a just knowledge of the world from these measures; and it is hoped, that men of zeal

without knowledge will want abilities and influence to carry such schemes into execution.

No nation ever was, or can be truly great, powerful, and happy by pursuing oppressive and persecuting measures. And a sovereign, who has a true sense of his present and future glory, must see it to arise from his being at the head of a great, powerful, and happy nation, made, or continued so, by himself. His best friends are those who would raise his greatness, by augmenting the greatness of the people over whom he presides. He himself must see the absurdity of every scheme which proposes to raise his character at the expence of that of his country; as if it were possible to depress the people to the condition of slaves, without sinking the sovereign into a master of such slaves. Poor pre-eminence! Such maxims may have influence with Asiatic monarchs, but can never impose on a sovereign of Great Britain, educated in British principles, and with just regard to the privileges of his subjects, with which his own true dignity is inseparably connected.

THE nation will execrate, and the discerning prince will see through, and detest the meanness of that adulation, which, however

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however disguised, would tend to enslave the kingdom, and debase the king. The meanest tool of the meanest party may exclaim against licentiousness and faction; men of genius, learning, and integrity may, through the force of prejudice, be induced to join in the cry; and courtiers may think to recommend themselves to a sovereign by any measures which tend to quiet the clamours of the people; but the true enemy of sedition, and he who most effectually pays his court to a wise and good prince, is the man, who, without any views of preferment, proposes, with a manly freedom, whatever he thinks conducive to the greatness and glory of his country. This conduct cannot fail, both to give satisfaction to his fellow citizens, and ensure him the esteem of his prince: because such measures will proportionably raise the lustre of all ranks of men in the state, will make a wise prince the idol of a grateful nation, and endear his memory to the latest posterity.

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A short ACCOUNT of a
CHART of BIOGRAPHY.

THE Chart of Biography, of which the plate annexed exhibits a specimen, is about three feet in length, and two feet in breadth. It represents the interval of time between the year 1200 before Christ, and 1800, after Christ, divided, by an equal scale, into centuries. It contains above two thousand names, the most distinguished in the annals of fame; and the length of their lives is represented in it by lines drawn in proportion to their real duration, and placed so as to shew, by inspection, how long any number of persons were cotemporary, and how long one life began before, or extended beyond another, with every other circumstance which depends upon the length of lives, and the relation they bear both to one another, and to universal time; certainty being always represented by full lines, and uncertainty by dots, or broken lines. The names are, moreover, distributed into several classes, by lines running the whole length of the Chart, and the chronology is noted in one margin by the year before and after Christ, and in the other by successions of kings.

As

CHART OF BIOGRAPHY

As an example of the use of the chart, let any person but attend to the black line which represents the life of SIR ISAAC NEWTON. He will see, by the length, and situation of it, that that great man was born before the middle of the seventeenth century, and lived till near the middle of the eighteenth. He was born a few years after the death of LORD BACON, and about as many before that of DESCARTES. He was a younger man than BOYLE, whom he outlived many years; and SIR HANS SLOAN, MONTFAUCON, ROLLIN, BENTLEY, and LE CLERC lived to about his age, and were his cotemporaries the greatest part of his life. Almost any number of lives may be compared with the same ease, to the same perfection, and in the same short space of time.

The Chart, it may easily be imagined, cannot be equally well filled in all places: but the void spaces, among the groups of great names, will serve to give an idea of the great interruptions of science, and the intervals at which any branch of it has flourished. Many other uses of the Chart are pointed out in the description that is given along with it; which contains every thing necessary in order perfectly to understand the construction of it, and the disposition of the names in it. The

CHART OF BIOGRAPHY.

The work is inscribed to the late Lord Willoughby of Parham; and though his Lordship died just before the publication of the first edition, it is well known to many persons, not only that the author had permission to inscribe this work to his Lordship, but that it was chiefly owing to his Lordship's approbation and encouragement that he was first induced to make it public.

The Price of the Chart, together with a book, containing a DESCRIPTION of it, and a CONTINUATION, on a smaller scale, as high as the Creation, and a CATALOGUE of all the names inserted in it, with the DATES annexed to them, is *half a guinea*.

It is printed for the Author, and sold by himself in Warrington; and by Mr. J. Bowles in Cornhill, and T. Jefferies in the Strand, London.

A Specimen of a Chart of Biography

50	1500	50	1600	50	1700	50	
<u>Mirkhond</u>	<u>Baronius</u>	<u>Hale</u>					Historians &c.
<u>Fitzherbert</u>	<u>Coke</u>	<u>Montfaucon</u>					
<u>Machiavel</u>	<u>Davila</u>	<u>Dugdale</u>					
<u>Guicciardin</u>	<u>Thuanus</u>	<u>Burnet</u>					
<u>I.G. Scaliger</u>	<u>Yokius</u>	<u>Rollin</u>					Critics
<u>W. Lilly</u>	<u>Casaubon</u>	<u>Temple</u>					
<u>Politian</u>	<u>Turnebus</u>	<u>Selden</u>	<u>Bently</u>				
<u>Ariosto</u>	<u>Malherbe</u>	<u>Boileau</u>					Poets &c.
<u>Holbein</u>	<u>Shakespeare</u>	<u>Dryden</u>					
<u>Raphael</u>	<u>Tasso</u>	<u>Milton</u>	<u>Pope</u>				
<u>Titian</u>	<u>Poussin</u>	<u>Handel</u>					
<u>Paracelsus</u>	<u>Harvey</u>	<u>Boerhaave</u>					Mathemat. &c.
<u>Copernicus</u>	<u>L. Bacon</u>	<u>Newton</u>					
<u>Cardan</u>	<u>Descartes</u>	<u>Hans Sloan</u>					
<u>C. Aqrippa</u>	<u>T. Brahe</u>	<u>Boyle</u>	<u>Maclaurin</u>				
<u>Calvin</u>	<u>Pascal</u>	<u>Shaftesbury</u>					Divines &c.
<u>Luther</u>	<u>Grotius</u>	<u>Le Clerc</u>					
<u>Erasmus</u>	<u>Arminius</u>	<u>Tillotson</u>					
	<u>Beza</u>	<u>Locke</u>					
<u>Francis 1st</u>	<u>Cromwel</u>	<u>Peter Gr.</u>					Statesmen
<u>Columbus</u>	<u>Philip 2^d</u>	<u>Turenne</u>	<u>Charles 12th</u>				
<u>Albuquerque</u>	<u>Henry 4th</u>	<u>Lewis 14th</u>					
<u>Charles 5th</u>	<u>Richlieu</u>	<u>Marlborough</u>					
50	1500	50	1600	50	1700	50	

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